SPECIAL ISSUE: THE AMERICAN INDIAN

TOMORROW

Vol. 4, No. 3 50 Cents

S.E.T.S. LIBRARY

SUPERNORMAL EXPERIENCES — ROBERT E. LOWIE

OMEN AND POWER DREAMS — GEORGE DEVEREUX

THE HEALING VISION — D'ARCY McNICKLE

SPIRIT POSSESSION — KENNETH M. STEWART

SHAMANS, WITCHES, CHIEFS — MISCHA TITIEV

THE HOPI KACHINA CULT — FREDERICK DOCKSTADER

THE PEYOTE WAY — J. S. SLOTKIN

THREE GODS FOR JOE — OMER C. STEWART

NAVAHO PSYCHOTHERAPY — LELAND C. WYMAN

PLAINS INDIAN WAR MEDICINE — JOHN C. EWERS

AMERICAN INDIAN MUSIC — WILLIAM RHODES

THE SHAKING TENT — RICHARD S. LAMBERT

UARTERLY REVIEW OF PSYCHICAL RESEARCH

EDITORIAL:

THE AMERICAN INDIAN'S LIVING UNIVERSE

THE Indians of North America, to whom this Special Issue of TOMORROW is devoted, are believed to have their origin in Asia. It is practically certain that they came from Siberia via the Bering Straits. Columbus, finding the new world which he mistook for the long-sought Indies, named the residents of this territory, Indians. Over the whole area of the Americas there was spread a people who lived a simple but rich and varied existence, whose knowledge of agriculture gave to the new inhabitants valuable leads in food-stuffs and medicine.

The occupation of the West by the new settlers inevitably meant the annihilation of the Indians. It has been frequently said that while the Spaniards and the French enslaved the Indians, they never quite broke their spirit. This was reserved for the Anglo-Saxons, for when they pursued their war upon the race, the Indians, physically overcome, seemed to lose also their spiritual strength. And yet, not entirely. Since the old objective and distinctive pattern of their life was taken from them, the subjective meaning of their existence became even more significant to them. It is within thir ritualistic systems that they perpetuate their close esoteric affinity with nature.

THE outstanding characteristic of the speech of these early people was its diversity. According to the usual reckoning there were more forms of language in North and South America than in the entire Eastern hemisphere. Indian language even to-day tends to describe concretely and visually, methods of action and personality, shapes and space relations; this happens often in the language of symbols, as used in clairvoyance.

Their practice of agriculture, with implements often no more complicated than a planting stick, points to deep Indian relationship with the earth itself; their elaborate textile art, frequently using true fabric rather than animal skins, indicated respect for the animal. Their extensive

Continued on back cover

LONG PLAYING INDIAN RECORDS
by FOLKWAYS RECORDS

World's leading producer of folk music on records.

P401 MUSIC OF THE SIOUX AND THE NAVAJO, recorded in Indian communities by Willard Rhodes in cooperation with the U.S. Office of Indian Affairs. Sioux recordings include: Rabbit Dance, Sun Dance, Omaha Dance, love songs, honoring song. Navajo recordings include: Squaw Dance, Night Chant, riding song, corn-grinding song, silversmith's song, spinning dance, song of happiness (children). Notes.

1-12" 33-1/3 rpm longplay record $5.95

P420 MUSIC OF THE AMERICAN INDIANS OF THE SOUTHWEST, recorded by Willard Rhodes, in cooperation with the U.S. Office of Indian Affairs. Including the Navajo, Zuni, Hopi, San Ildefonso, Taos, Apache, Yuma, Papago, Walapai and Havasupai peoples music. Pueblos, South Athabascans, Rancheria tribes, Plateau Yumans. Notes by Harry Tschopik, Jr. and Willard Rhodes.

1-12" 33-1/3 rpm longplay record $5.95

P445 FLATHEAD INDIAN MUSIC, recorded by Alan and Barbara Merriam in Montana in the summer of 1950. This music was selected from the most complete study of the musical culture of these people. Includes: Wake-up, Scalp Dance, Owl Dance, Love, Gift Dance, Jumpin' Dance, Snake Dance, Sweathouse and Lullaby songs. Stick games, flute and drum music. Illustrated notes included.

1-12" 33-1/3 rpm longplay record $5.95

P464 INDIAN MUSIC OF THE CANADIAN PLAINS, recorded by Ken Peacock for the National Museum of Canada. Recordings of the Blood, Cree, Blackfoot and Assinboine Indians made on the reservations. They include war songs, greeting songs, stick games, Chicken Dance, Grass Dance, Owl Dance, Sun Dance, Crazy Dog Dance, and others.

1-12" 33-1/3 rpm longplay record $5.95

For free catalog of records of over 200 people, write to:

FOLKWAYS RECORDS & SERVICE CORP.

117 West 46th Street, New York 36, N. Y.

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE

ROBERT H. LOWIE has been Professor Emeritus of the University of California at Berkeley since 1950. From 1908 to 1921 he was Assistant and Associate Curator of the American Museum of Natural History in New York City. He served as Associate Professor at the University of California in 1917 and 1918, and again from 1925 to 1950. Prof. Lowie was awarded the Viking Fund medal in 1947 and the Thomas H. Huxley medal a year later. He is the author of **Primitive Society** (1920), **Primitive Religion** (1924), **The Crow Indians** (1935), **The History of Ethnological Theory** (1937), **Social Organization** (1948), **Toward Understanding Germany** (1954), and **Indians of the Plains** (1954), as well as of many technical papers.

GEORGE DEVEREUX contributed an article on "Indochina's Moi Medicine Men" to the TOMORROW issue of Autumn 1955. Until recently, he was Director of Research of the Devereux Schools, Devon, Pa., but now makes his home in New York City. He is the editor of **Psychoanalysis and the Occult** (1953) and author of **Reality and Dream: Psychotherapy of a Plains Indian** (1951), reviewed in this issue. Dr. Devereux's latest book **Therapeutic Education,** has just been published, and is at work on a study of spontaneous psychic phenomena in primitive societies.

D'ARCY McNICKLE is the Director of American Indian Development, a project devoted to adult education in a Navaho community. He was formerly associated with the U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs as Director of Tribal Relations. Dr. McNickle is a member of the Flathead Tribe of Montana and a fellow of the American Anthropological Association.

JOSEPH B. CASAGRANDE is Administrative Consultant with the Social Science. Research Council, Washington, D.C. He has done field work among the Comanche and Ojibwa and published studies on Comanche baby language and Ojibwa bear ceremonialism. He served as staff secretary at the Twenty-ninth International Congress of Americanists and is engaged in research in ethnology, linguistics, and culture and personality.

KENNETH M. STEWART is Associated Professor of Anthropology, Arizona State College, Tempe, Arizona. He is a specialist in the study of the Indian of the American Southwest and has done ethnological field work among such tribes as the Mohave and the Papago. At present, he is directing the excavation of a Hohokam archaeological site. Dr. Stewart has just completed work on a book, **Indians of Arizona,** and is the author of a number of learned papers.

MISCHA TITIEV is Professor of Anthropology at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan. His principal field work was done among the Hopi Indians of Oraibi, Arizona; but he has also made on-the-spot studies of the Araucanian Indians of Chile, the Japanese residents of Peru, and some of the rural inhabitants of Japan. Titiev's major publications include: **Old Oraibi, A Study of the Hopi Indians of Third Mesa** (1944); **Araucanian Culture in Transition** (1951); and **The Science of Man: An Introduction to Anthropology** (1954).

. S. **SLOTKIN** has been an Associate Professor of Anthropology at the University of Chicago since 1946. Earlier, he taught at Washington University, St. Louis, the University of Washington, Howard University and the University of Texas. Dr. Slotkin's fields of research and teaching include social anthropology, ethno-history, social psychology and ethno-psychiatry. He has done ethnographic field work among the Menomini Indians of Wisconsin and the Plains Indians. He is the author of many learned papers, as well as of **Social Anthropology** (1950) and **Personality Development** (1952). A new book, dealing with Peyotism but as yet untitled, is scheduled for publication later this year. He is at present preparing a monograph dealing with "Employees in Newly Industrialized Areas."

)MER C. STEWART taught at the University of Minnesota and University of Texas before going to the University of Colorado, Boulder, Colo. where he is now Professor of Anthropology. Both the University of California and the University of Colorado have published monographs on the Peyote Church by Dr. Stewart. Another paper, on the history of the spread of peyotism from the Ute to the Navaho, with Dr. David Aberle, is to be published in the University of Colorado Anthropological Series. Dr. Stewart teaches courses on Africa and the Middle East, where he traveled during the war, as well as on religion. He has made a special study of the influence of man upon the earth, especially the effect of fires set by aborigines on the vegetation.

ELAND C. WYMAN is Professor of Biology, Boston University College of Liberal Arts; he headed the department of Physiology from 1929-1946. His interests have ranged from the folklore and native arts of the North American Indian to native arts of India, China, Korea and Japan. He has done extensive research among the Navaho Indians, making numerous field trips since 1933 in New Mexico and Arizona, where he studied native ceremonials and sand paintings. His numerous contributions to journals include: The Sandpaintings of the Kayenta Navaho, A Prehistoric Naturalist, The ethnobotany of the Kayenta Navaho, The Arts of the Book in the East.

NANDOR FODOR is a New York psychoanalyst, who spent many years in Great Britain as an author and psychic researcher. He compiled the **Encyclopedia of Psychic Science** (1934). His recent books include **New Approaches to Dream Interpretation** (1951), **The Search for the Beloved** (1949) and **Haunted People** (1951).

JOHN C. EWERS is Associate Curator of Ethnology at the U.S. National Museum. He was formerly Curator, Museum of the Plains Indian, Browning, Montana. Mr. Ewers has lived among the Blackfoot Indians while engaged in museum work and ethnological research. He has made field studies among the Blood, Assiniboin, Sioux and Kiowa tribes of the Great Plains. He is the author of books and articles on the Plains Indians, the most recent volume being **The Horse in Blackfoot Indian Culture**, published by the Bureau of American Ethnology of the Smithsonian Institution.

FREDERICK DOCKSTADER is associated with the Museum of the American Indian of New York City. He is Commissioner of Indian Arts and Crafts with the Department of the Interior. Dr. Dockstader previously served as Staff Ethnologist at the Cranbrook Institute of Science, Bloomfield Hills, Mich., and until last year was Curator

of Anthropology at the Dartmouth College Museum, Dartmouth, N.H. He has lived and traveled extensively in the South—and is the author of **The Kachina and the White Man** (1954).

WILLARD RHODES is Professor of Music at Columbia University, Councillor of the American Ethnological Society, and President of the Society for Ethnomusicology. He has edited ten albums of North American Indian Music for the Library of Congress, where his extensive collection is deposited.

ALAN P. MERRIAM, is associated with the Department of Anthropology, University of Wisconsin. He has done field research among the Flathead Indians (1950) and in the Belgian Congo and Ruanda Urundi (1951, 1952). He is the author of numerous articles on African and Flathead music, jazz and anthropological subjects. He has written a monograph on Flathead music, a jazz bibliography, and has prepared two recordings of Congo and Flathead music.

GERTRUDE PROKOSCH KURATH has published and performed under her married and her maiden name, and under the stage name of Tula. Her dance entries in the **Dictionary of Folklore** cover the globe. On Amerindian dance ethnology and musicology she has co-authored **The Iroquois Eagle Dance,** 1953, with William N. Fenton, and has authored **Songs of the Wigwam,** 1955, also numerous articles in scientific and popular books and journals. She is preparing an Ethnic Folkways album of Great Lakes tribes. Prerequisite field observations, recordings and photography were sponsored by the Viking Fund, New York State Museum, American Philosophical Society and Michigan Academy of Science.

book manuscripts invited

Looking for a publisher? Learn how we can publish, promote and distribute your book, as we have done for hundreds of others. All subjects considered. New writers welcomed. Author satisfaction has made Vantage the nation's tenth largest publisher. Write today for booklet TM. It's free.

Vantage Press, Inc. 120 W. 31 St. N. Y.
In Calif.: 6253 Hollywood Blvd., Hollywood 28
In Wash., D.C.: 1010 Vermont Ave., N.W.

PRIVATE LIBRARY FOR SALE

1,500 volumes on:

Occult Sciences. Phychic Research. Supernatural. Spiritualism. Mysticism. Magic & Witchcraft. Life After Death.

Part of a 30,000 volume collection of finest modern and classical literature. Housed in magnificent, furnished New Hampshire Estate—90 acres—10 buildings. Available for ideal research or seminar center. SELL ALL OR PART.

HERBERT K. GOODKIND
155 East 42nd Street
New York 17, N. Y.
MU 6-1970

Quarterly Review of Psychical Research

TOMORROW

Eileen J. Garrett, Editor-Publisher
Martin Ebon, Managing Editor
Lenore Davison, Assistant to the Publisher
Lester Buckland, Circulation and Business Manager

VOL. 4, NO. 3 357 SPRING 1956

SUPERNORMAL EXPERIENCES OF AMERICAN INDIANS by Robert H. Lowie 9
MOHAVE DREAMS OF OMEN AND POWER by George Devereux 17
THE HEALING VISION by D'Arcy McNickle 25
THE OJIBWA'S PSYCHIC UNIVERSE by Joseph B. Casagrande 33
SPIRIT POSSESSION by Kenneth M. Stewart 41
SHAMANS, WITCHES AND CHIEFS AMONG THE HOPI by Mischa Titiev 51
THE HOPI KACHINA CULT by Frederick Dockstader 57
THE PEYOTE WAY by J. S. Slotkin 64
THREE GODS FOR JOE by Omer C. Stewart 71
PSYCHOTHERAPY OF THE NAVAHO by Leland C. Wyman 77
PLAINS INDIAN WAR MEDICINE by John C. Ewers 85
DREAMS OF A PLAINS INDIAN by Nandor Fodor 91
AMERICAN INDIAN MUSIC by Willard Rhodes 97
MUSIC OF THE FLATHEAD INDIAN by Alan P. Merriam 103
MASKED CLOWNS by Gertrude Kurath 108
THE SHAKING TENT (Book Excerpts) by Richard S. Lambert 113

Tomorrow, Vol. 4, No. 3, Spring 1956. Published quarterly by Garrett Publications at 50c a copy. Annual subscription $2.00 in U.S. and possessions; $5.00 for three years. Editorial and Business Offices, 500 Fifth Avenue, New York 36, N. Y. Printed in U.S.A. Copyright 1955 by Garrett Publications. All rights reserved. Entered as second-class matter at the post office at New York, New York, under the Act of March 3, 1879.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE FIRST INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF PARAPSYCHOLOGICAL STUDIES

Utrecht, the Netherlands, July 30 to August 5, 1953

A summary of Conference activities, containing accounts of Working Groups in Qualitative Studies, in the Psychotherapeutic and Psychoanalytic Approach, in Spontaneous Phenomena and Qualitative Research, and in the Personality of the Sensitive.

The Proceedings include some 50 abstracts of papers delivered at the Utrecht Conference, thus providing the reader with the highlights of a notable event in the current history of parapsychology. $3.00

●

Please send your order and payment directly to

PARAPSYCHOLOGY FOUNDATION, INC.
500 Fifth Avenue
New York 36, N. Y.

SUPERNORMAL EXPERIENCES OF AMERICAN INDIANS

Robert H. Lowie

IN speaking of American Indians we must remember how they differ in various geographic areas, in their physical appearance, language, or custom. Apart from that, individuals vary considerably, even within the same tribe. Thus, what holds for all American aborigines may be true of all mankind, rather than distinctive of one race.

This proposition applies to the theme of supernormal manifestations; they are certainly striking in some parts of the New World, but in others their importance is small. Broadly, we can distinguish Indian peoples with and without a predominantly mystical orientation. The advanced civilizations of Mexico and Peru, as described by the early Spanish chroniclers, had their soothsayers and magicians; but that phase of life was overshadowed by the organized priesthoods and the temple cults.

The contrast between these two tendencies can be studied in the United States by comparing the Pueblos of Arizona and New Mexico with tribes north and east. Pueblo priests peer through crystals in order to detect witches, but simply as a routine procedure. In the northern Plains, too, there was scrying when a warrior gazed into a mixture of badger and buffalo

blood; but here this was an awe-inspiring, fearsome procedure.

Again, a Pueblo Indian is as likely to have an extraordinary adventure as anyone else. A tradition tells of one who caught sight of a boy running amidst a herd of deer. The phenomenon upset him, but it did not prompt any deeper consequences. An Eastern Indian might interpret the deer as spirits promising him their own fleetness, or some other favor. His faith in their benevolence toward him might give him self-assurance and make him re-shape his life.

Having noted this deep-rooted difference in attitude, we turn to those populations for whom supernormal occurrences bear a deeper meaning. It is useful to have a common term for all persons who come into direct contact with the occult. The Siberian term "shaman" admirably serves the purpose. There are, however, two major types of communion to be distinguished. In the Siberian form the spirit "possesses" the mystic, that is, passes into his body, speaks through him and directs his behavior. In the second type the spirit does not make a medium of its protégé, but merely appears to him or makes its presence felt through some other sense.

Although a shaman often conducts ceremonial, thus assuming the duties of a priest, the two concepts are distinct. A priest, that is, a man trained to perform ritual in the approved way, is not a shaman unless he receives direct revelations through possession or an apparition. A frequent but misleading use of the word "shaman" is to apply it to a magic-working physician. For, though healing is a very common function of shamans, they render many other services, such as prospering the crops, aiding hunters, thwarting hostile tribes, foretelling the future, and controlling the weather.

It was once believed that, except for the Eskimo, possessional shamanism was unknown in the New World. This generalization has proved mistaken. To be sure, the phenomenon is less noticeable than in Africa or Asia, yet it is far from rare and is widely distributed. At the very tip of the continent, in Tierra del Fuego, what makes a shaman is precisely that the soul of a deceased predecessor passes into his body in order to fuse with his soul. Similarly, in Brazil a Bororo doctor summons his familiar spirit when treating a patient, and it is said to take temporary residence in the healer's body.

"Divine Election"

APART from the distinction between mediums and seers, there are two main categories into which shamanistic experiences may be grouped. Sometimes the supernat-

ural is deliberately sought by man, at other times he encounters it without effort on his part. In the latter case he may accidentally stumble upon it, but often there is a "divine election." That is, a spirit chooses a person as its protégé, and he may have to accept the relationship on pain of illness or death.

In North America the conscious quest of a familiar is predominant outside the Pueblo area, but often enough the very same person who thus obtains a tutelary may at another time be freely visited by a familiar or other spirits, say in a dream. In point of antiquity, we must regard the unsought encounter as primary, for before men can seek communion with the world of mystery they must have some warrant for believing it possible.

Let us briefly review some supernormal manifestations in native America. With the rest of humanity the shaman shares dreams, but not all of them seem of equal value to him. I could not get a Crow informant in Montana to explain in objective terms what sort of dreams he rated as extraordinary. His judgment turned out to be subjective: if a dream deeply stirred him, he considered it the equivalent of a vision.

This emotional reaction—often called "thrill"—underlies all supernormal experiences, whether in form of dreams, apparitions, or auditions. From this personal angle it is immaterial whether the thrill is spontaneous or induced; whether it is due to a great deity, a lesser spirit, or even a striking object; whether it is coupled with a far-reaching message to the people at large or a trivial dietary rule for the shaman. A few samples will prove instructive.

Creation of a Shaman

ON a very dark night Unavnuk, an Eskimo woman, was outside her hut when, according to her story, a glowing ball of fire came rushing toward her from the sky. Before she could flee, it had struck her. At that instant everything within her body became light and she fell unconscious. Previously she had never concerned herself with occult matters, but due to the spirit of the meteor she soon became a great shaman. She had noticed before swooning that it was bear-like on one side, human on the other, and the human head bore tusks.

When she came to, Unavnuk dashed indoors singing. Now she knew everything—all contaminating offenses committed by her people—and she purified them all. Without knowing why, she had begun singing her song, repeating it incessantly and working herself into a state of ecstasy that communicated itself to the entire household. It was, however, only

while the meteor possessed her that she felt like this. Otherwise she remained her normal self; only with the spirit light within her body she "could see and hear and know everything."

For occult illumination the Eskimos do not always require a tangible spirit. They firmly believe in the intrinsic power of magical words and pay extravagantly for their use. The recital of the proper formula is said to lighten heavy loads, stop bleeding, cure the sick, change the weather, and bring game animals; in ancient days the right spell, recited letter-perfect, could allegedly even transform an old hag into a young man. Only a generation ago a hunter persuaded an elderly woman to teach him her formula; in return he gave her food and clothing as long as she lived.

But though one may thus buy magic words or inherit them from a dying elder, they ultimately go back to a revelation; and those formulas are strongest which rest on a direct audition, sometimes without instruction by any supernatural being. An Eskimo may be wandering alone among the mountains when he suddenly hears strange words. For some reason they thrill him to the core; he feels convinced that here is the answer to all his problems.

Many of my Crow friends have described similarly inexplicable states of ecstasy. Some firmly believed that some animal was lodged in their bodies and would come out under the influence of some specific stimulus. This caused a trance condition of the possessed and great danger for him unless the protruding part of the inmate —say a buffalo tail or an eagle feather—could be made to go inside again. An old woman told me that whenever a certain dance song was sung on the reservation she was irresistibly drawn to the site of the performance and went into a trance. Then the tail of a horse came out of her mouth and bystanders had to smoke her with incense to make it go back again. She also had a weasel inside her stomach. It once came whistling to her during a period of mental distress, causing "a queer feeling." It warned her against having people bump into her, lest she should go into a dangerous trance.

A benignant ecstasy marked the climax of the same tribe's Sun Dance. Unlike its counterpart elsewhere, this festival had the single purpose of giving the pledger a vision by which he could avenge the death of a beloved kinsman at the hands of a hostile people. As a rule he would have to fast and thirst for several days, constantly staring at a sacred doll until it revealed to him the image of a scalped foe. Then the pledger, going "out of his head," "crazy," or

"intoxicated," would fall unconscious. Psychologists would presumably explain this phenomenon as auto-hypnotism.

How Visions Are Brought About

THE Indians are well aware of the mental consequences of certain external conditions. They know that unsought revelations are favored by solitude, that they come to starving hunters, fleeing warriors, and others in situations of stress. Hence, when deliberately trying to put himself into touch with the world of mystery, a man duplicates the stimuli connected with spontaneous communications. He will fast and thirst, go into lonely spots, subject himself to hardships of some sort.

Where narcotics and intoxicants are in vogue, their known physiological effects are often used. Thus, swallowing slices of the cactus known as peyote is known to stimulate the nervous system, depress some individuals and evoke in others intense exaltation, probably due to visions of kaleidoscopic images. One of the pioneers of the Peyote cult among the Winnebago in the state of Wisconsin at first suffered nightmares from eating the cactus; he thought he was being pursued by horrible monsters. But further use of the drug brought comforting visions of God and the morning-star. Then suddenly came a thrill and he burst out crying: "Ah, Peyote, you are holy. All that is connected with you I should like to know; for now I first realize what holiness is." [See also "The Peyote Way," page 64.]

In southern California, boys were initiated into manhood status after drinking a decoction of the jimson weed (a species of *Datura*). The intoxicant completely stupefied the novices and whatever animal appeared to them in their sleep became a life-long sacred patron. South American shamans are likely to put themselves into a trance by excessive smoking or drinking of an infusion of tobacco. A Brazilian variation is to have doses of pulverized tobacco blown into one's nostrils. The immediate effect is coughing, sneezing, spitting. The recipient's vision becomes fogged, his eyes smart, his stomach turns. Excessive doses make the shaman mutter unintelligible phrases and he tries to capture invisible objects out of the air.

The spontaneous thrill or trance is a mental state limited to certain members of any group. It represents a clearly individual element in supernormal experiences. We know that in such tribes as the Crow by no means all who try to obtain familiars actually succeed; and this situation holds elsewhere also.

Regional Patterns of Shamanism

THERE are other individual variations to be reckoned with. Some mystics may be auditory types, so that their reports describe all sorts of sounds they have heard: whistling, shouting, neighing, snorting, jingling. But in any relevant account there are not only strictly personal, but also strictly traditional elements. That is to say, part of the revelation rests on the shaman's idiosyncrasies, part on his tribal culture.

This proposition is based on accounts of mystic experiences by different shamans of the same tribe. As soon as we compare these reports with those from another people, the regional patterns at once stand forth. It is instructive to compare the contrasting experience of the Ojibwa (around Lake Superior) and the Crow (eastern Montana).

An Ojibwa father always urges his young son—possibly not over seven years of age—to blacken his face, go into the woods, and fast. The procedure is repeated, with a lengthening of the period of retreat, until the youngster gains his spiritual contacts. Such pre-puberty or puberty retreats are common in the woodlands, but not in the high plains.

A Crow is never sent out by an elder, but fasts on his own responsibility. He has heard from infancy that all success in life depends on a message from supernatural powers, hence strives to obtain one. If ambitious, he will try as a youth; and if he fails, there is a loophole: he may *buy* the benefits of a revelation from a true visionary. Further, he is not limited in his search to the period of youth, but may go on his quest at any age as circumstances suggest. In any case he will try to arouse the pity of the mysterious beings by mutilating himself, preferably by chopping off a finger joint.

Beyond this, the very tenor of the revelation is in part predetermined in both tribes. Ojibwa spirits regularly take their human ward on a cosmic jaunt. "Everywhere roundabout was I conveyed," one shaman narrates; "roundabout was I shown what the earth everywhere was like, and likewise the great deep." Other witnesses phrase their experience in virtually the same words. The Ojibwa obviously have a model not only for methods of god-seeking, but even for the kind of enlightenment provided by the gods.

The Crow pattern was quite different. The spirit pronounces the formula of adoption in addressing the visionary: "I will adopt you as my child." He does not offer an object lesson in celestial geography, but promises particular blessings, and lays down rules of conduct, especially dietary taboos.

Apart from this general pattern there are several specific types. A highly characteristic one that turns up repeatedly in myth as well as in the accounts of my informants involves a symbolic dramatic scene. The visionary beholds a cavalcade of supernatural persons; suddenly trees and rocks in the landscape turn into enemies who attack the horsemen; the riders, however, remain unhurt and overcome the attackers. Thus the spirits promise invulnerability to the seer.

Prophets and Patrons

THE influence of the culture asserts itself when the message reflects some basic aspect of the tribal world-view. In this case it may well envisage the general good rather than the visionary's special interests. The Guarani (Paraguay) were obsessed by the notion that the universe was doomed to destruction; escape was possible only by migrating to an island beyond the sea. Accordingly, throughout the nineteenth century prophets arose, professing to lead their people to this earthly paradise. Each taught the kind of dance and the observances needed to ensure success. Though every attempt to reach the goal proved futile, the pattern remained undisturbed. A new prophet simply declared that someone had caused the failure by not exactly heeding the instructions laid down.

Not only the contents of the revelation, but the mysterious dispensers themselves differ appreciably in various regions. We might assume that it was mainly the great deities of the cosmos—say, the Sun, who is greatly revered in most of America—who would be the most common of supernatural patrons, but this holds for only a small number of cases. Far more frequently the benefactors of man are a motley crew of beast and bird spirits.

For the Crow and their neighbors the tutelaries are likely to appear first in human guise but when vanishing they identify themselves by reverting to their true shape. The Crow do invoke the Sun in their quest, but he comes only in exceptional instances. Instead, a chicken-hawk, a bear, a rabbit, a buffalo, an elk may take pity on the faster. The powerful mythological Thunder being, eagle-like in form, is not so rare; and once in a while a muscular dwarf or some other being otherwise never mentioned turns up, proving how widely diffused are the mysterious powers of the cosmos. On the other hand, though ghosts and the dead generally are not unknown as apparitions and occasionally have the part of familiars, they play a minor role compared to birds and animals.

The Apinayé of northeastern Brazil present still other features.

In short, supernormal experience among our Indians is not the wholly personal affair we might expect. The emotional state accompanying an apparition is, of course, unquestionably individual. But almost everything else has to fall within a circumscribed framework—the mode of approaching the world of mystery when it is sought; the contents of the communication received; the very nature of the communing being.

Bead into Bird's Egg

THE aboriginal séance, one of the most baffling of relevant phenomena, often serves to demonstrate the magic powers of shamans. The Cree of Western Canada assemble in a darkened "conjuror's lodge." The shaman, his hands and body tied, sings to the beat of a drum: Soon the thongs binding him come flying out of the tent, which mysteriously begins to sway. Then the voices of the shaman's spirits, of birds and beasts, are heard, and they answer questions put by an elder. When the visitants have departed, the fire is rekindled. [See also "The Shaking Tent," page 113.]

A Crow eyewitness professed to have seen a performer shaking a chokeberry bush in the dead of winter, until ripe berries sprouted on it for the spectators to eat.

Among other acts mentioned were knife-swallowing, jumping into the fire, and rubbing a mixture of buffalo hair, ashes, and dirt till it turned into a live rat. Like every other extraordinary talent, these miracles were explained as gifts due to visitants who had befriended the shamans during their fasts. Collusion is certainly indicated when one shaman ostensibly makes his rival collapse and then brings him to.

The sleight-of-hand tricks and ventriloquism in the phenomena just described also tend to rouse the suspicion that shamanism as a whole rests on fraud. Yet independent investigators in different parts of the New World take the opposite view. The questionable practices seem merely designed to impress the crowd into accepting the reality of occult power of which the practitioners themselves are firmly convinced. Everywhere a sick shaman will entrust his own fate to a colleague. In many localities the prospective mystic undergoes privations, if not self-torture.

The accounts of occult experiences by otherwise intelligent and trustworthy reporters cannot simply be brushed aside. They ring true, whatever may be the interpretation of visions and auditions. As my best Crow interpreter phrased it, "When you listen to the old men telling about their mysterious experiences you've just *got* to believe them."

MOHAVE DREAMS OF OMEN AND POWER

George Devereux

THE Mohave Indians live on both banks of the Colorado River, in Arizona and California. They are an agricultural and warlike nation imbued with a sense and pride of nationality and wholly unlike the layman's conception of the stolid "cigar store Indian." Their culture is singularly barren in rituals; instead, dream occupies the focal position in their culture. Mohave attitudes toward dreams, as toward everything else, are always a mixture of great practicality and of a headlong plunge into the inner world of fantasy.

Thus, the wife of a medicine man who was present while I was discussing dreams with her husband, remarked: "We don't dream when it is hot because we do not rest well. But if we do dream and rest in the heat, we may have nightmares—because we ate too much. Or else maybe we have good luck dreams. We jump up and walk around in the middle of the night if we ate too much."

Then her husband continued the discussion as follows: "When I was fourteen or ten years old, I obtained mysterious life and power. I married nine times and never had hiku:pk (venereal disease.) Some of the old seem to crawl on all fours now, but I got my strength. I might come to the end (of man's maximum life span?)—I dream I had long whiskers [the Mohave very seldom have whis-

kers], and a cane when I dream and lots of young people tell [call] me in dream, 'Grandfather.' I hear it in my ear. It is spirit power. It came to me in dream and happens in daily life. Good dreams —sumatc ahot—about one in a hundred have it."

Then referring to a dream of mine, which I had told him, and which, in Mohave terms, was a bad dream, he said: "If you have an evil dream, sumatc ala:yk, you die. Sumatc itcem—a bad dream —means illness. Since you did not die someone took your place and he died in your place."

This conversation reflects the mixture of great practicality and extreme fantasy characteristic of Mohave attitudes toward dreams. It is quite typical, save perhaps for the very last sentence, which may reflect one of this particular shaman's private theories.

Dreams Promise "Capacity"

BROADLY speaking, the Mohave differentiate between ordinary dreams and great dreams. However, they hold that all dreams have a meaning, although it is not always understood. In that sense then, every dream is an omen dream though it does not necessarily reflect what will actually happen, but what could happen. For example, my interpreter told me of a dream which meant that if she were to gamble, she would be lucky. However, she did not go to gamble, but came to interpret for me, as usual. Perhaps a belief in the meaningfulness of all dreams results from ascribing prophetic qualities to a dream after an event occurs that seems to have been predicted or foreshadowed by the earlier dream.

In other instances the omen-element is quite obvious. Thus in the dream about having long whiskers and carrying a cane, we are confronted with obvious attributes of old age, further underscored by the fact that young persons call the dreamer "Grandfather." Among the Plains Indians, a young man may have a vision of a buffalo, which opens its mouth and shows that it has no teeth—as old persons have no teeth—thus indicating that the visionary will have a long life. However, we must note that even omen dreams may indicate only a potentiality, which, in some instances, the dreamer must actualize.

In this tentative sense, then, omen dreams are related to power dreams, which bestow upon those who have them certain qualities or powers, or else insure that some events of *major* importance will take place. By contrast, omen dreams seem to refer to specific and more restricted types of occurrences. Thus, a woman may have a power-dream in adolescence, which indicates that she is

to have children—surely a major event in the life of a woman. By contrast, during pregnancy she may have an omen-dream—dreaming of male or female regalia—which forecasts the sex of the child about to be born.

A young man may have a dream giving him the power to become a great warrior—and may also, on various occasions, have omen dreams foreshadowing the outcome of some military venture. On the whole, no major feat is possible in life without having had an appropriate power-dream, which bestows upon the dreamer the capacity to become a shaman, a warrior, a fertile woman, etc. By contrast, many concrete events of a more restricted scope may occur without their being predicted by an omen dream.

The Role of Myths

ACCORDING to Mohave belief, there appear to be structural and psychodynamic differences between ordinary (omen) and great (power) dreams. Ordinary dreams appear to be genuine dreams, experienced in a single night. They come from the Day or from the Night, defined as personified entities—depending on whether one has the dream during the night or during a nap in the course of the day. As stated before, these dreams may, or may not, be understandable on awakening; their intelligibility depends on the presence of conventionalized omen symbols or —perhaps—upon the subjective impression which they make on dreamers or listeners.

Unlike the dreams of ordinary people, those of twins come from, and pertain to, Heaven, which is their real home. Objectively speaking, this origin of the dreams of twins is an imputation since Heaven is just like earth—only better—so that nothing in the "setting" of a twin's dream indicates that it pertains to Heaven, save only the fact that this dream is that of a twin. The same dream dreamed by an ordinary mortal would come from the Day or from the Night.

The nature and divine origin of power dreams is more complex, especially in the case of medicine men (shamans) and, to a lesser extent, in the case of singers, of funeral orators—who are often also shamans—of warriors and of other personages prominent in Mohave culture. The most elaborate form of the power dream is experienced by the shamans, and offers us a comprehensive example of the type. What is true of these dreams also applies to other power dreams, although in a simplified form.

The most crucial factor in shamanistic power dreams is the role of myths, especially the Creation Myth, which establishes a set of precedents for everything that

happens in human life. In Mohave belief, the future shaman dreams of that portion of the Creation Myth, which pertains to his future "specialty," while still in the maternal womb. However, even shamans who specialize in the same kind of cure do not necessarily have identical dreams. Their dreams will, however, fit the general pattern of the pertinent portion of the Creation Myth.

As a singularly perceptive non-shamanistic informant said: "Their accounts of the relevant portion of the Creation Myth will differ as your account of a car accident which you witnessed may differ from my account, who have also witnessed it." In other words, they recognize that the personal factor modifies or slants what is, supposedly, an objective experience. This fits perfectly the fact that singers—who specialize in narrating all myths—tend to recite somewhat different versions of the same basic myth;—a flexibility entirely in harmony with the non-obsessive, non-compulsive, and non-ritualistic Mohave character. (This characteristic is so pronounced that when I tried to collect data on Mohave psychopathology, each diagnostic picture I painted for them was immediately recognized and illustrated with cogent examples, except for my descriptions of obsessions and compulsions. The latter only elicited the comment: "I know just what you mean—the chief of the tribe is always thinking of the welfare of the nation!")

Oddly enough, shamans seem to be the only ones who attach much importance to the exclusive correctness of their "experience" of the Creation, which they supposedly actually witness in utero. Thus, while singers do not seem to be angered by the fact that another singer tells the same myth somewhat differently, shamans are angered by the accounts of other shamans which differ from their own. Hence, no shaman will tell of his "experiences" or perform his cure—which includes a narrative of the mythical precedent—in the presence of another shaman, lest the latter be angered by divergences and bewitch him.

The "Devilish Child"

After supposedly witnessing a reenactment of the Creation in the maternal womb, the future shaman after his birth forgets ("represses") this intra-uterine dream for several years. During this period he is simply a "devilish child" and a troublesome pre-adolescent. Then, suddenly he begins to have dreams which he "recognizes" as those he had in the maternal womb.

He has these dreams repeatedly and narrates them to suitable authorities, who may point out that there is something amiss with some

portion of the dream. In fact, a singer specifically reports that his deceased father and brother formally tutored him in dreams, setting him right regarding various details of the myths which he was to "know" and recite. Such adolescents also follow attentively the performances of shamans specializing in the cure of ailments in which they, themselves, will eventually specialize.

The preceding paragraphs indicate clearly how the myth intrudes into dreams of this type and organizes them. What probably happens is this: An adolescent, who has been a very turbulent child, has a dream which seems to resemble a standard portion of the Creation Myth, which he has heard before. At this point he may recall that he was frequently spoken of as a future shaman, simply because his behavior was so turbulent. He is therefore inclined to view this dream as the first intimation of budding shamanistic powers.

The second fact is that the dream itself, and the myth-linked associations which it evokes, strikes him as familiar. However, because of his culturally determined expectations, and probably also because of genuinely psychological repressions, he does not ascribe this sense of "familiarity"—of *déjà vu*—to his repeated listening to singers and witnessing of actual shamanistic cures. Instead, he projects it back to the remote past, and comes to believe that, in accordance with cultural expectations, he has had this same dream already in the maternal womb.

Formation of a Power Dream

CONSTANT preoccupation with the dream, and with daydreams related to it, and with memories of what he actually learned and witnessed—all these elements, plus, possibly, actual "tutoring" by experts, help him to add new elements to the real remembered dream. He structures this sum of dream elements and learned material into a whole which fits cultural expectations related to shamanistic power dreams. In the end, the shaman comes up with a suitable and complete "dream," which he now believes to have dreamed in its entirety both in the womb and, again, during adolescence.

It is this dream, including both medical theories and cures, which he then proclaims as his power dream and that he narrates during the cures he performs. Officially at least, as far as he and the tribe are concerned, all that which *matters* about this dream was learned in the course of an "actual" dream.

Actually of course, the Mohave —both as regards shamans and as regards the laity—understand very well that much of this final pro-

duct was learned in a matter of fact way. That, however, seems quite irrelevant to them, since that which truly matters was, by definition, learned in dream. Indeed, the Mohave emphatically specify that anyone can, simply by listening, learn the medical portions of the Creation Myth and the songs used in curing rites. However, even though such a person may be "letter perfect," his knowledge is simply not effective. He has the objective knowledge, but not the power which makes this knowledge effective, and which must come in dream. In fact, the Mohave hold that if a layman, who did not have the proper dreams, was presumptuous enough to sing a shaman's songs, he would bring untold calamities upon himself.

Indeed, one reason why so many Mohave were convinced that the writer was a shaman, is that, while recording them in writing, he sang certain curing songs without catastrophic consequences. Interestingly enough, there is also a reverse side to this medal: If someone receives the appropriate powers, but does not choose to practice his curing craft, he will go insane. In this respect too, power dreams differ from omen dreams, since the woman who had a dream of being lucky at gambling had nothing to fear because she chose the safer way of earning money by serving as my interpreter.

Success Proves the Shaman

THERE is sound evidence that power dreams of a specific type come to those who seek them, be it only unconsciously. Thus, Young Quail specialized for years in the cure of supposedly "venereal" diseases, before becoming also an obstetrician. He received obstetrical powers after his wife died in childbirth. He could *not* deliver the infant, which could be seen moving in its dead mother's body, while everyone stood around helplessly, since the Mohave do not know how to perform Caesarean operations. Shortly after this tragic occurrence, Ahma Huma: acquired in middle age—itself a rather noteworthy and a typical occurrence—the power to function as an obstetrician.

While all *bona fide* shamanistic power dreams are valid, not all are equally effective. This explains why, of a group of obstetrical specialists, one may be highly esteemed and deemed to be consistently successful, while another may enjoy little prestige. Presumably the dream of the first was complete and highly "loaded" with power, while that of the second was relatively incomplete and therefore less power-laden. Likewise, a new self-proclaimed shaman must first "earn his spurs" by a series of successful cures.

It is necessary to return once more to the basic importance of

power obtained in dream, as against the ritual behavior related to cures. What matters is exclusively the power, and not the knowledge of the songs and other elements of the curing rite. Indeed, there are today practicing shamans who do not know traditional curing songs, because the last shaman who knew the songs pertaining to a certain illness died before he could transmit this knowledge. Such modern shamans recite instead a condensed version of their "dream" (myth). This is held to be quite as effective as if they had actually sung the relevant songs.

It is important to stress that Mohave shamanism, and the whole matter of curing powers, is still very much alive; gradually, it has absorbed elements related to occidental culture. New diseases are believed to have come into being as a result of eating occidental, store-bought, foods and these illnesses baffled the established therapists. Eventually, however, someone may receive in dream knowledge of the relevant—but hitherto unrevealed—portion of the Creation Myth, and acquire the ability to cure illnesses resulting from eating canned food.

Witchcraft: Murderous Impulse

THESE data are of more than casual interest. They reveal the extraordinary adaptability of the basic Mohave pattern, whose strength lies in its non-rigidity. New parts of the Creation Myth may be revealed in dream at any time, to fit new situations, including situations resulting from contact with occidental culture, and suitable new types of dream power may thus come into being. In fact, it may well be said that as long as there is a single Mohave who still believes in Mohave mythology, Mohave mythology cannot become stagnant, it remains a growing and changing thing.

We cannot speculate in so brief an article about the psychodynamics of Mohave power dreams. We can, however, confidently state that they are appreciably motivated by aggressive elements. Indeed, it is of the essence of shamanistic powers that he who can cure disease X can also cause it; in fact, it may be said that he can cure it, precisely because he can cause it. It is a major tenet of Mohave beliefs concerning witchcraft that some shamans become witches in their old age, as do the singers of certain so-called "shamanistic song cycles."

Such persons are said to bewitch people they like, in order to have an imposing retinue in the other world. However, in order to keep their hold on their ghostly followers, they themselves must die a violent death. Hence, when a witch feels that he has acquired an ade-

quate following of victims, and is haunted by longing for them, he will deliberately provoke the surviving relatives of his victims into killing him, so as to join them and enjoy his leadership and their company. This explains why many of the shamans who are killed as witches either deliberately provoked their killers or else made no effort whatsoever to escape them, even if they knew that there were killers on their way to their house.

These findings could be documented by some twenty detailed case histories of shaman killings. We may therefore view the curing activities of shamans as "reaction formations" against destructive impulses that first showed themselves in a turbulent childhood. Eventually such infantile murderous impulses find their way into behavior in the form of witchcraft; this, in turn, creates guilt feelings and causes the witch to seek death —punishment by getting himself murdered.

Much valuable work has been done by deservedly respected scholars on Mohave dreaming, shamanism and witchcraft. However, until at least one medicine man has been analyzed, nothing more can be done than outline the most basic and most obvious psychological factors which underlie these cultural beliefs, and motivate individuals to become shamans.

LIGHT

A Journal of Psychic Science

Founded in 1881. Published Quarterly.

Subscription Rates: One Year, $2; Single Copy, 50 Cents

Sent to subscribers in the United States, postage prepaid, upon payment by International Money Order.

16 Queensberry Place, London, S.W. 7

THE HEALING VISION

D'Arcy McNickle

THE quality of a people is often most clearly revealed in the visions of its holy men. These visionaries at times gain insights that convey a larger meaning for themselves and for their group. This quality derives not only from the grandeur of a vision—if, indeed, it has grandeur—but is often revealed by the nature of the perceptive material on which a vision casts its glow.

Thus it is frequently not in the wider aspects of the vision, as recited by a holy man, but in details that he may mention merely in passing, that we may find clues which enable us to answer questions such as these: For what does his group hunger? To what is it sensitive? What balances does it strike between the good and evil experiences of life?

Some years ago, Marius Barbeau, the Canadian ethnologist, recorded the vision of Tetlaneetsa, a member of one of the Salishan tribes of the Northwest mountain country. The Indian's account of his experiences is typical of the reports of many such men. [See: "Dreams of a Plains Indian," Page 60.]

The first of the visions occurred when Tetlaneetsa was a boy of fifteen. His words were recorded by Barbeau and later translated. He said:

"One summer night I slept alone in an open field, in the grass,

near a patch of fireweeds. A great wind rose at dawn and I heard a voice, a sweet voice, floating above, floating back and forth, with the tufts of cotton from the fireweed stalks. 'Dear son, listen to my voice, listen to this song!' I opened my eyes, but could see no one. It was only a dream.

"As I woke up slowly, again I heard the voice in the wind. It was a voice with many tones, as if many people were singing together, singing very softly at dawn. It swept the grass, the fireweeds, the bushes, swept the trees, the trees large and small, the trees with leaves and the trees with needles. It was the voice of the wind that makes all nature sing, the rivers, the canyons, the mountain gorges, the forests. I could hear them all singing in the wind. Their song was beautiful, endless, dreamlike."

Then he told of two women who appeared. "They were not walking; their feet only swept the weeds as they drifted on the wind. They sang the song of nature as they came. They stooped over me, brushing my head and my shoulders with their soft, wind-like, leaf-like hands." They told him, "If you sing our song, if you dance to its tune, perhaps it may also come to you, the power that we possess."

Soon they disappeared, "drifting away like two white clouds above the long prairie that stretched upwards in the direction of sunrise. . . . They left a glittering trace in the wind behind them. It was like white dust from their feet in the distance."

A Song of Life

THE vision returned on two notable occasions. Once, fifteen years later, after a long illness that left him near death, a single sister appeared. Accompanied by the same singing, she directed him to eat a certain berry. Though it was in deep winter, members of the camp went out and after a long search found a few dried-up berries of the kind mentioned still clinging to a bush. A tea was made of them, and his recovery followed.

On the second occasion, several years later, the dream song returned, this time sung by an old man with flowing white hair. He proclaimed, "From all nature I am strong, old though I am." And he warned, "Grandson, if you don't sing this song at noon tomorrow, you shall die."

When his wife awakened and he explained what he had been told, she too began to sing. And so they continued until morning, although neighbors protested.

In the morning he ceased singing and went out with his pick and shovel—he was working on a road project in rough, wooded country. As he passed a certain cliff, a

workman shouted, "Look out!" A dislodged tree trunk was sliding down the cliff's face. It caught Tetlaneetsa as he passed in the trail, and swept him a hundred feet into a ravine, where he was caught between the plunging log and a tree at rest.

He should have been crushed, and indeed men shouted, "He is dead!" But he had been thrust into a hollow place, just large enough for his body. He had been stunned, but said later that even as he lay unconscious, "my song was still singing inside of me, the song of strength, the song of life."

Exploiting the Dream Power

THE seeking of visions is a characteristic occupation of primitive groups in many parts of the world, and was particularly prominent among certain North American Indian tribes. In the simple, democratic societies which prevailed over most of the Great Plains, northward through the interior of the continent, and on to the Eskimo groups in the Arctic Zone, religion was not formalized. Any man or woman might seek supernatural aid, as an individual, or as a suppliant for the group. The vision which came was reported to the family or to the group, and became a guide to action.

The shaman belongs typically in such a relatively undifferentiated society. He is the man most adept at obtaining the prized vision, and the one who learns strategies and develops skills, even tricks, for exploiting his dream power. The very term "shaman" is derived from one of the Siberian languages, suggesting an origin in a society of nomadic hunters such as prevailed throughout the northern part of the North American continent. Other terms are used—medicine man, among certain tribes; angakok, among the Eskimos; witch doctor, in Africa and Melanesia—but the meaning is the same in each instance.

The practice of shamanism is not everywhere the same, neither is the procedure of entering upon the role of the shaman everywhere identical.

In some groups he is respected for his professed ability to communicate with supernatural powers; but he is also feared as a potential source of danger. He will often boast of his power to destroy his enemies as well as benefit his friends. In other situations, the shaman and the political leader are closely identified and give each other support. Or the two offices may be combined in one individual.

Among the Klamath Indians of Oregon, it is reported that the shaman occupied a higher place than the rich men, including the chiefs of the tribe. Their houses

were larger, they had more material wealth than any layman.

In a complex society, such as that of the Cherokee, the shaman or medicine man combined in his person the attributes of many professions. He was clergyman, educator, philosopher, historian, politician, family counsellor, and medical doctor.

As to the means by which men achieved status as a shaman, the routes were varied. The vision quest was a widespread practice, but it did not lead invariably to the same goal. Among the Northwest Coast tribes, seeking and obtaining of a vision was interwoven into the patterned behavior of puberty. In Southwestern Plains tribes, a clan might trace its origin and its special powers to the vision experienced by an ancestor. Later descendants would cleave to the vision, but would not personally seek to enlarge the powers of the clan. [See also "Mohave Dreams of Omen and Power," page 17.]

Visionary Specialists

INHERITANCE from an uncle or other kinsman was one way in which a shaman found his role, as among the Haida and Tlingit. Miraculous escape from death at the hands of an enemy, or a near miss from a stroke of lightning, might also usher an individual into the career of shaman.

When visionary experiences were a decisive factor in the making of a shaman, they might lead to a specialization that set him as a man apart. In the California area, where this occurred, visions became a professional pursuit which attracted individuals who otherwise would have been classed as unstable members of the group. Simple hallucinations brought on by fasting and other ordeals no longer sufficed. Cataleptic seizures were a common occurrence among Shasta shamans.

The devices and skills employed differed considerably from tribe to tribe, but essentially they were concerned with invoking supernatural power, either to achieve well-being for an individual or an entire group, or to protect against evil. At times these devices might be employed to accomplish trifling ends, as in searching for lost articles. Or rival shamans might try to outshine one another by competing in the performance of sleight-of-hand or other tricks.

The treatment of disease was a fairly universal preoccupation, although not every shaman practiced curing. Quite often a division of labor occurred. The Nootka, thus, had two types of practitioner; a person who cured physical illness, and a second person who sought to restore a wandering soul to its body. "Soul sickness" was a widely held concept,

eported by the early Jesuits work-ng in Canada. Among the Cali-ornia Hupa, the "dancing" sha-man was responsible for determin-ng the cause of illness, and his co-worker removed the source by ucking foreign objects from the ody.

In the Navaho tribe, where the medicine man is called a "singer," he attainment of status in this pecial field involved both time nd expense.

Religion Is Health

THE experience of one such Navaho was reported to Alex-nder H. and Dorothea C. Leigh-on (in *The Navaho Door*) as ollows:

"When a man wanted to be a inger he should start in the sum-ner and get a good crop of corn nd harvest it and store it, and hen about the time the first snow lies, build him up a good hogan, nd then haul plenty of wood here to do a long time, and have woman there, his mother or omebody, to cook for him, cook hat corn and make bread. Then e gets a singer and has him there n the hogan and they work and eep at it.

"If they get too tired, then they an take a sweat bath and next lay they feel good and can go on vith it again. They stay at it until he first thunder, and then quit. Next summer the learner does the same thing again, and the next winter goes on with the learning. Do that for maybe five years. By that time learn two or three cere-monials." [See also "American Indian Music," page 97.]

The Navahos work with as many as thirty-five ceremonials, most of them devoted to curing, and it is not surprising that few singers ever master any large number in a lifetime. The ceremonies require from two to nine days to per-form, and each involves word-per-fect memorization of numerous chants and prayers. These singers also acquire a considerable knowl-edge of the medicinal properties of local herbs and develop skills in treating wounds, setting bones, and other practical medicine. As is true of other tribes, the Navahos recognize practitioners of a lesser or different skill. Those who have learned only the briefer ceremoni-als are used for limited types of assistance and are known locally as curers.

Still another practitioner is the diagnostician, called a hand trem-bler, who relies on a kind of divination for determining the nature of the ailment and the type of singer to be called by the patient's family. The sandpaintings employed by the singers in some ritual curing require extraordinary manual dexterity and an infallible eye for design. Streams of colored sand pouring from between the

fingers cannot be glossed over. [See "Psychotherapy of the Navaho," page 77.]

Universally, the shaman is paid for his services, in goods or in money. In some groups, the payment is returned if the treated patient fails to recover, and thus the wrath of a family is averted. Generally, however, the officiating shaman keeps his fee, but may remain out of sight if the family is inclined to place blame upon him. In most tribes it is recognized that a service has been rendered regardless of the result.

As we learn in the case of the Navaho singer, acquiring the necessary knowledge may be both arduous and expensive, while the practice of the art, in the case of a full-time singer at least, is so time-consuming as to preclude any other economic pursuit. Payment constitutes not only a reward for a service, but it is recognition that the services are valued.

The medicine man is not to be thought of as primarily concerned with the treatment of illness; he is not the counterpart of the medical doctor of modern society. In most tribes, no distinction is made between religion and health or well-being. Conversely, to fall ill is to fall out of the right kind of thinking or acting, as determined religiously. Hence the effort of the medicine man is to restore the body and mind by returning the patient to right living. He often achieves this by helping the patient to realize that he has a proper place in the group, and the group, by participating with the medicine man in the ceremony, impresses upon the individual that it accepts him.

The Shaman's Last Stand

WHAT becomes apparent in any detailed examination of the behavior of medicine men and the lay members of a tribal group is that each is an integral part of a whole. The medicine man would not survive in a society which no longer believed in him; neither would he be able to function indefinitely if he were wholly cynical about the efficacy of his skills and knowledge. Both medicine man and lay member reflect a need and a very real satisfaction.

Among the Navahos, it has been estimated that in at least one community the men spend as much as one-third of their time in religious activities, as participants or audience, while the women spend up to one-fifth of their time. This is evidence of the extent to which the lay person in that tribe looks to ceremonial practices for comfort and a sense of security. As for the effectiveness of the medicine man's arts, it is not uncommon for an ailing patient to be released by a hospital, or for

sick person to leave the hospital against medical advice, and be restored to health by a curing ceremony.

As societies grow in complexity and individual roles tend to merge in institutions, the shaman disappears into priestly hierarchies. Among the Southwestern Pueblos, the function of curing becomes vested in a special social group, within which a number of individuals perform traditionally designated roles.

In any group, many forces must work, many individuals must perform given acts, whether by self-appointment or otherwise, and many needs must be satisfied; and all this must take place in an integrated way, otherwise the group falls apart and ceases to exist. In those Indian tribes where parts of this inter-acting structure cease to perform, confusion and despair result. Disintegration is far advanced in many such tribal groups, yet the medicine man remains one of the last supports of the older way. People still look to him for guidance and reassurance, and he still attempts to supply these needs.

How to Tell Fact from Fancy

THE SENSE AND NONSENSE OF PROPHECY

By Eileen J. Garrett

A devastating exposé of fortune tellers, charlatans, and "spook artists," who do a highly profitable business among the gullible, the ignorant, the emotional and the distressed.

The **Boston Herald** has described this book as "fascinating investigation and a witty, intelligent analysis," a "gem of a book that definitely distinguishes fact from fancy."

Originally published at $2.75, this 280-page book now is available—in limited quantity only—at $1.50

TOMORROW BOOK SERVICE—500 Fifth Ave.—New York 36

An Exclusive Import from Canada

EXPLORING THE SUPERNATURAL

By RICHARD S. LAMBERT

Here is a book that enters the unexplored frontier of the weird in Canadian folklore. The author, supervisor of educational broadcasts of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, offers a full measure of entertainment, together with a serious and well-documented study of the antics of invisible, intangible entitities that have made Canadian ghost lore the equal of any in the world.

The author gives a fair presentation of facts in the realm of the supernatural, and leaves the reader free to choose the key to the mystery: What kind of ghost do you believe in? The freshwater serpent of Lake Okanagan? The hairy Susquatch Man of the Rockies? The child-devouring Wendigo? Fire spooks? Witches?

Mr. Lambert shows that mysterious hauntings, talking poltergeists and similar phenomena are not rare episodes in Canadian life. From fascinating historical puzzles of Indian lore to a haunted home in Toronto, the author presents a provocative report on strange events from the Atlantic to the Pacific Coast of Canada.

$3.75 Order directly from

TOMORROW BOOK SERVICE

500 FIFTH AVENUE • NEW YORK 36, N. Y.

THE OJIBWA'S PSYCHIC UNIVERSE

Joseph B. Casagrande

THE Ojibwa, after the Navaho, are the second most numerous Indian group in North America. They inhabited the forested heartland of the continent, ranging through Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota and the adjoining provinces of Canada. Since first encountered by the Jesuit explorers some three hundred years ago, they and other neighboring Algonkian groups to whom the Ojibwa are related through language and culture have gained a reputation as practitioners of the occult arts.

The journals of the missionaries and other early explorers contain vivid accounts of conjuring ceremonies, often attributing to the performers feats that would rival those of a Houdini or a Hindu fakir. Thus, in a letter dated Quebec, 1709, one Antoine Raudot writes as follows: "These savages have among them some that are called jugglers. These people pretend to speak to the devil, and he tells them things that they ask him; to invoke him they place themselves in a cabin of bark or skin where they give frightful yells; the devil appears to them and sometimes beats them badly; this cabin while they are there trembles with so much force that one would think it was going to turn over." Similar accounts have long been cited in works devoted to supernaturalism such as H. Carrington's *The Psychic World* (New York,

1937) or Emma Hardinge's *History of Modern American Spiritualism* (New York, 1870), and a recent volume by R. S. Lambert, *Exploring the Supernatural* (Toronto, 1955), quotes a number of these early reports. [See "The Shaking Tent," page 113.]

Real as an Arrow

WHILE failing to give the devil his due, modern anthropological research has confirmed the prevalence of psychic phenomena among the Ojibwa. In fact, there are few peoples in the world, primitive or civilized, among whom one finds paranormal experience so pervasive or so various. Virtually the whole array of psychic phenomena—clairvoyance and telepathy, transformations and apparitions, magic and sorcery, spiritual communication and action at a distance—figures in Ojibwa belief and practice.

However, in cultural perspective, as Prof. A. I. Hallowell has so brilliantly shown in his monograph, *The Role of Conjuring in Saulteaux Society* (Philadelphia, 1942), and in his other writings on this closely related group, psychic experience is fully consistent with the traditional belief system of the Ojibwa. In the Ojibwa world view, there are no sharp boundaries between the natural and the supernatural, the normal and paranormal, the spiritual and material. Thunder Birds, "masters" of various animal species, water monsters, the cannibalistic *windigo* and a host of other spiritual and quasi-spiritual beings are as much a part of their behavioral environment as the rocks, lakes or trees. Magic is as effective as a steel trap; a projected thought as real as an arrow. These spiritual, magical and psychic forces are inextricably woven into the fabric of Ojibwa daily life, permitting a range and quality of experience denied to most men of the more rational and mechanistic Western world. A few glimpses into this psychic world will reveal its essential contours.

Persistent Traditions

THE practices described in the following paragraphs belong to the past. Today somewhat more than 30,000 Ojibwa remain, most of them living on numerous widely scattered reservations, but only a dwindling minority follow the old customs. On the Lac Court Oreilles Reservation in northwestern Wisconsin where I conducted research in the summer and fall of 1941 a small "pagan" group still harvested wild rice, still honored the slain bear, recounted old myths and gathered in the quiet, sparkling nights to beat the sacred drums. Yet the fundamental elements of traditional Ojibwa belief were remarkably persistent even

among the more acculturated Christian majority. For example, I recall attending a curing ceremony at the home of a middle-aged woman patient suffering from a facial paralysis. Before submitting to the ministrations of the native "sucking doctor" she turned religious pictures toward the wall, covered the statues of the saints and wound a strip of cloth around her wedding ring.

At the heart of Ojibwa supernaturalism lies the concept of the guardian spirit which they shared with many North American Indian tribes. Formerly, it was the custom for the pre-adolescent boy or girl to fast and in the seclusion of the forest seek an hallucinatory visitation by these familiar spirits, usually in the guise of an animal, bird or anthropomorphic being. Many failed in this quest, but those who were favored acquired a potent ally. Throughout their lives all who had successfully fasted and dreamed could in time of crisis summon the aid of these supernaturals by drumming and singing the appropriate songs. However, these spirits were the particular mentors of the Ojibwa shaman and through them these practitioners received their clairvoyant and curative powers and gained knowledge of the specific techniques employed.

The shamanistic séance affords an effective vehicle for the expression of individual psychic gifts and in it Ojibwa supernatural belief and practice are vividly joined. Two types of shamanistic performance are found—the celebrated and distinctive "shaking-tent" ceremony of the conjuror, briefly described in the quotation from Raudot above, and the healing rite of the medicine-man wherein a cure is magically effected by sucking out an intrusive disease object. The latter ceremony has a world-wide distribution and is presumably an ancient component of the culture of primitive peoples in both the Old World and the New.

The "shaking-tent" ceremony is a device whereby the conjuror invokes the presence of various supernatural spirits and communicates with them in supplication of their aid. It is performed, upon payment of a modest fee, at the request of a client seeking a prophetic solution to some problem. To gain foreknowledge of an impending event, to recover lost or stolen property, to foretell the course of an illness, and to discover the hidden cause of a disease are among the more frequent occasions for conjuring. Some conjurors, it is said, can work sorcery by calling the victim's soul, thus leaving him in a trancelike or paralyzed state.

The performance is always held after sunset. A barrel-like frame-

work, six to eight feet high and firmly anchored in the ground, is erected for the purpose by the conjuror's assistants. Rattles or bells are hung from the top of the structure and the whole sheathed with birch bark or blankets. After his audience is assembled and seated in a circle around the tent, the conjuror appears and enters it. Immediately the tent begins to sway, the bells sound and an extended spiritual colloquy begins. With a more violent shake of the tent, Great Turtle arrives and announces his presence in characteristic throaty voice. Other spirit voices join in. Some speak an unintelligible gibberish, some sing, others joke with the intent and appreciative audience. The spirits appear to the conjuror, it is said, as points of fire or tiny figures perching on the framework of the tent. The conjuror converses with these spirit presences, questioning them and dispatching them on various errands in his efforts to solve the problem of the evening. The audience is kept informed of the progress of the investigation until the solution is finally announced by the conjuror who may also volunteer an additional prophecy or two.

The tent sways at varying tempo intermittently throughout the performance which may last several hours, and the whole is an impressive demonstration of endurance and virtuoso ventriloquistic skill. Over the years several conjurors have become converts to Christianity and though renouncing the practice none has denied that the powers he once possessed were genuine and supernaturally bestowed.

Although the "shaking-tent" ceremony has all but disappeared among the Wisconsin Ojibwa, many of the writer's informants had themselves initiated or attended performances. All attested to the power and authenticity of the conjuror's gifts. In one instance the conjuror determined that two missing boys had drowned and located their bodies near the opposite shores of a nearby lake. Moreover, strong belief in clairvoyance persists even in the absence of the ceremony. Thus, during World War II one tribal elder did a thriving business locating scarce stolen tires and securing information about the health and welfare of Ojibwa boys away in the service.

Healing Séance

THE performance of the sucking doctor, the most powerful form of therapy available to the Ojibwa, was undertaken to cure persons who were the victims of sorcery or suffering from diseases resistant to other forms of treatment. Although conducted for curative rather than clairvoyant pur-

poses, the doctor's séance shared many elements with that of the conjuror. In the ceremony I witnessed, the doctor was John Mink, a nonagenarian possessed of prodigious memory and knowledge of Ojibwa culture and the most feared and respected man on the reservation. Prosper, his patient, was a man in his mid-sixties. Born of an Indian mother who had married a French-American lumberjack, Prosper was a nominal Christian but he owed allegiance to both ways of life.

As in the case of the conjuror, the sucking doctor's performance customarily takes place in the evening and we gathered for Prosper's curing at John Mink's cabin shortly after dusk. Besides the principals and us observers, the company included a drummer, Andrew Q., Mary Marten and the latter's daughter, Alice, and granddaughter, a child of ten. After we had assembled, Andrew, acting as the Old Man's assistant, covered the windows to exclude both prying eyes and the last light of day. Then he tightly closed the door, first making a brief tour of the premises to see that there were no dogs about whose barking would frighten away the spirit helpers. A guttering candle burning in the corner provided the only light.

We sat in a semi-circle around the supine form of Prosper, our faces illumined by the uncertain yellow candlelight. The Old Man, his figure grotesquely silhouetted, stood opposite us. Prosper lay motionless before him on a blanket, eyes closed and arms extended at his sides, his gifts to the Old Man, a pair of tennis shoes and a package of tobacco, displayed for all to see. Andrew put two finger-length tubes made from the polished leg bones of a deer into a shallow pie tin half filled with salt water, which he in turn placed on the floor at Prosper's side and covered with a red bandana.

Spirit Helpers

THE scene thus set, the Old Man began the ceremony with a recitation of his fasting experience. He told how in a dream on the fifth night of his fast he was led to a conjuror's hut by a flock of wild geese. Inside the swaying hut, which he entered through a hole at the top, were a spikebuck and six spirits. Later, her approach heralded by the sound of singing and laughter, these six were joined by a beautifully dressed lady whose home is behind the sun. These were the ones, he said, who taught him how to cure people and told him the songs to sing in summoning their help.

His recitation finished, he took up his rattle (a quart oil can filled with buckshot), and accompanied by Andrew on the tambourine

drum, began to sing. After singing a cycle of songs to call his spirit helpers, the Old Man dropped to his knees at Prosper's side and shook the rattle over him and also around his own body.

As the drumming continued, he put one of the bone tubes into his mouth and after a brief pause, swallowed it, shuddering and jerking his body as the spirits entered it. Still kneeling, the Old Man then regurgitated the tube and, bending close, sucked through it several times in the region of Prosper's lower abdomen. After each sucking he blew through the tube into the pan of salt water. Finally, obviously winded by his exertions, he spat out the tube. The drumming abruptly stopped and Andrew helped the Old Man to his feet.

After a brief interlude the Old Man sang another song and began a second series of suckings. This time he succeeded in extracting a small piece of whitish substance which was passed around in the pie tin for inspection before Andrew disposed of it. The Old Man said that he had gotten out only a part of the disease, but added that he believed he could get the rest of it the following evening when he would use a stronger spirit.

PROSPER, his face flushed, arose somewhat giddily from the floor and made a ribald quip. The hushed, intense atmosphere was immediately dissipated, a lamp was lit, and a bantering conversation began. In light mood the women then served a meal of wild rice and sweet buns which they had brought with them. The food eaten, the Old Man sang four more songs, whooping after each which he said he did to frighten away the disease. The evening's ceremonies thus concluded, we disbanded at midnight.

We reassembled the following evening at the same hour and with some modifications the ceremony of the previous night was repeated. Prosper, averring that he had slept well for the first night in months, resumed his position on the floor, this time stripped to the waist.

For the evening's second course of treatments, the Old Man asked Alice to put the bone tube in his mouth and gave Mary the rattle to shake. He did this, he said, because two female spirits were helping him tonight. After sucking a couple of times he asked Andrew to get a larger bone which was secreted under the bed. He swallowed the tube, alarming us all by momentarily gagging on it, then he regurgitated it and sucked again near Prosper's navel. On the first attempt he sucked out a small maggot and several pieces of the same white stuff, and announced that he had now gotten it all.

The Old Man said that Prosper had been sorcerized by a woman

immediately identified by Prosper as a former mistress with whom he had lived for two years and subsequently deserted. Prosper thanked the Old Man for saving his life, as he was sure the disease would shortly have killed him, for the woman had never forgiven him.

Despite his great age, John Mink's performance had force and high dramatic quality. Watching the ceremony, I sensed the weight of history that lay behind it—here, I felt, was an expression of the human mind and spirit to which we all are heir.

Reality into Myth

WHILE less spectacular than the performance of the conjuror or sucking doctor, other forms of jugglery and legerdemain were practiced for purposes of divination or curing. Thus, to validate both their prognostications and their power, some could make the skins of loons come alive and cry out. One such diviner, Old Man Skunk, was believed to use the skin of an owl for nefarious purposes and had the reputation of being able to transform himself into one of these dreaded birds. Another, it was said, could shoot at a man holding a wooden bowl in his lap, but the bullet would only drop out into the bowl and roll harmlessly around in it.

Even today the actual behavioral world of the Ojibwa is not sharply set off from the world as depicted in the rich store of myth. The same kind of events occur in each. Whether based on hearsay or personal experience, anecdotes and reminiscences embodying the unusual are told and listened to with special relish. Thus, I recorded numerous stories of premonitions, transformations, encounters with spiritual beings, sorcery, magical feats and the like. But more than this, the realm of myth and that of real experience are often merged so that the mythical is half believed, the actual transmuted into the mythical.

For example, the Ojibwa relate many tales of cannibalism. Here is a theme like those of classical drama, fascinating in its horrible possibility, since for the hunting peoples of the northern latitudes starvation is a lurking threat that rides the winter blizzards and the biting cold. These fears are joined and given mythological expression in the *windigo,* cannibalistic ice-monsters that stalk the woods in the lean winter months. Many stories are told of epic battles with these creatures, and of starving people becoming *windigo* and devouring their own relatives who appeared to them as tasty beavers or porcupines. Not many years ago a case of homicide was reported in the northwoods in which an Ojibwa was killed with an axe. The man had to be killed, the

murderer explained. He had become a *windigo*.

A CONTEMPORARY Ojibwa folktale that is at once both pathetic and triumphant expresses the vanishing view of this Indian World:

"An Ojibwa accused of killing a white man was sentenced to be hanged and was taken to a place where there was a scaffold. He said he was innocent, but they strung him up on the gallows. The Indian called upon his guardian spirit to help him and the spirit sent a rock hurtling down to smash the gallows. They put him on the gallows a second time and again his spirit sent an even larger rock to smash the gallows. Then the whites stripped the Indian and put him naked in a barrel into which sharp spikes had been driven from the outside. They rolled him down a steep hill and when the barrel came to a stop they rushed up to it and opened it. The Indian wasn't even scratched. The whites then said he must be innocent and they gave him a big feast and presents and said he was a chief."

What is Consciousness?
What is Man?
What is the Universe?

Fundamental Fundamentals

By ALBERT BRILL

An admirable and ambitious effort to understand man, by seeking to understand the universe that produced him. In the words of the author, who devoted several decades to develop a definition of Forty Fundamentals in man and the universe:

"Since man is a product through Evolution of natural forces of the Universe, he possesses within him many manifestations of these forces. We should, therefore, study the Universe and its forces, for there we can see in operation the same forces that produced man."

Sent postage-free, at $3.75 per copy, from

TOMORROW BOOK SERVICE • 500 Fifth Avenue • New York 36

SPIRIT POSSESSION

Kenneth M. Stewart

IN the red glare of the campfire a dark figure leaps in frenzied contortion. The monotonous throbbing of the drum becomes louder, stronger. The watching Indians sit entranced, hypnotized by the performance, recoiling in fright if the dancer comes too near. For he is the shaman, the man of power and mystery who can contact the spirit world.

An elderly man, stricken by some unknown ailment, lies in pain by the fire, his rheumy eyes fixed on the gyrating shaman. Only the shaman can discover his ailment; only through the shaman can he hope for cure. Now the shaman shrieks in agony, foam exuding from his mouth, his eyes bulging and distorted. "Ah-h-h-h!" An audible gasp escapes from the spectators as the shaman's body stiffens. They know! This is the moment of inspiration; the spirit has entered him.

The singing of the shaman is now eerie and unusually strong. No longer is the voice his own; now the spirit sings through the doctor's mouth. The power is in him, and it is the spirit who will work the cure, using the shaman's body.

The shaman has become "possessed" by the spirit. But to understand this spirit we must leave the weird performance by the campfire and discuss, more prosaically, the meaning of the term "possession." In Hastings' *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics* possession

is defined as "the temporary embodiment of an influence or spirit alien to the subject." But the embodiment is not always "temporary," since in some unquestionable instances of possession the spirit dwells permanently within the body of the host.

Demon or Inspiration?

A distinction should be made between two basic types of possession; possession or spirit intrusion as a cause of disease, in which an evil spirit enters the body of a person and makes him ill (demoniacal possession); and the inspirational form of possession, the belief that a spirit or god within the body of a person controls the actions and speech of the individual, using his body merely as a vehicle.

In demoniacal possession an evil spirit, without being invoked, takes up its residence within a person, making him ill and causing him to behave violently. Before the patient can be cured, the demon must be exorcised.

Inspirational possession, in contrast, is intimately linked with shamanism, and it is usually the shaman who voluntarily summons a tutelary spirit to possess him, so that he may foretell the future, cure disease, or perform other supernormal functions.

The presence of an alien power within the body of a shaman may be evidenced by abnormal physical and psychical symptoms. He may show epileptic reactions. His face and body become contorted, and he shrieks in horror, speaking in words unintelligible to the spectators. He may froth at the mouth, or blood may gush from it. He may fall rigid in a cataleptic trance.

Whatever the symptoms, the essential factor in all possession is the belief that the body of an individual has been invaded by a supernatural power, and is temporarily beyond self-control, his ego being subordinated to that of the intruder.

Readers of TOMORROW will recall Louis Mars' article, "Phenomena of Possession" in the Haiti issue (Autumn, 1954). "Possession" plays a prominent part in the "loa crisis" of the Haitian Vodun ceremonies, in which initiates become possessed by gods. It is less generally known that "possession" is almost world-wide in its distribution, among primitive peoples, and that it has also occurred in centers of civilization as well as in the marginal regions of the earth. Numerous instances of possession might be cited for Europe and the Near East. It is known throughout the Mohammedan world.

Possession figures prominently in the shamanism of the Siberian tribes. For example, a Chukchee shaman summons his familiar spirits by drumming and singing

whereupon they take possession of his body and cause his actions to become frenzied. The shaman is believed to assume the appearance of the supernatural beings that have entered him; his head shakes violently and he utters a gibbering noise, which is regarded as the voice of the spirits.

World-wide Occurrence

INSTANCES of possession are abundant in the literature of the Far East. At a Mongol séance the shaman becomes possessed and goes into an ecstasy, while lamas accompany him with bells, drums, and gongs. Shinto priests in Japan purify themselves for possession by fasting and bathing. A Shinto priest who goes into convulsions is believed to be possessed by a god, and through him the god answers the questions of other priests. In Korea, oracles are possessed by spirits, who speak through them. The Wu priests (Taoist) in China are possessed by good spirits known as *shen*, who endow them with second sight and the ability to repel the evil spirits or *kwei*. Every Tibetan monastery has a soothsayer, who has a spirit guardian which possesses him when he wishes to communicate with the spirit world.

In time of epidemic in Cambodia a chosen individual is taken to a temple, where he becomes possessed by a god, which is then enreated to ward off the plague.

Possession occurs nearly everywhere in India. In Madras, three masked dancers represent tribal deities. A tribal goddess speaks through one of the dancers, admonishing the people about their future conduct. Toda diviners pass into a frenzy indicative of possession by gods, and they serve as oracles. In the devil-dances of southern India and Ceylon, performers become possessed by the demons believed responsible for illness.

In the East Indies, the shaman of the Sea Dyaks becomes possessed while curing, passes into a sort of trance, foams at the mouth and talks incoherently. A priestess of the Bagobo of Mindanao goes into convulsions at a séance, and a spirit speaks through her.

Possession is general in the islands of the Pacific. In the Solomon Islands, either men or women may become possessed, and there are professionals who heal and prophesy. Spirits speak through them, the presence being manifested by convulsive movements. In Polynesia, the typical belief is in possession by a god. A native Hawaiian priest, possessed by a deity, would go into a frenzy, foaming at the mouth and rolling on the floor in convulsions. Even among the Stone Age Australian aborigines, spirits of the dead might animate the bodies of the living and speak through them.

In Africa also the concept of possession is widespread. Among the Hausa of Nigeria spirits are summoned to possess ceremonial dancers by drumming, the singing of spirit songs, and the burning of incense. Similarly, priests become possessed by gods among the Ewe-speaking peoples of the Guinea Coast. In the south the Amazulu inyanga, or diviner, is believed to be possessed by ancestral spirits. Among the Akamba of the East African highlands, spirits speak through mediums and shamans, who in exorcising go into an ecstasy which is induced by drumming and singing. In Uganda a Baganda medium functions as the mouthpiece of a god.

"Head-Weighing" Eskimo

DESPITE the common occurrence of possession in the Old World, anthropologists had long thought that the phenomenon was absent, or nearly so, among American Indians. A search of the literature has shown this to be an entirely erroneous impression, since dozens of instances of possession were found. Probably it has occurred among tribes other than those noted and it is likely that it has passed unrecognized by many field workers. Some ethnographers had merely neglected to inquire about it. Again, only a few cases of spirit possession in native America may be described.

Inspirational shamanism occurs universally among the Eskimo, from Greenland to Alaska. In a typical Eskimo possession rite the familiar spirits of the shaman are conjured up by singing and drumming. Then the soul of the shaman departs from his body, which becomes possessed by a familiar spirit. The shaman is in an ecstatic condition; his features and body are contorted. He assumes to a certain extent the characteristics of the spirit, and imitates its voice and actions. The spirit speaks through the shaman's mouth, employing a special "spirit language," which consists of obsolete and metaphorical Eskimo words. In case the shaman is possessed by an animal spirit, the characteristic cries of the animal are imitated.

A special form of inspirational possession among the Eskimo is known as "head-weighing," in which the patient rather than the shaman becomes inspired. The diviner ties a thong around the head of a subject, and lifts the head to determine the answer to a question. If the head is heavy, a spirit is believed to have entered it, and the answer is "yes." On the contrary, if the head feels light, the reply is negative.

The Spirit Speaks

POSSESSIONAL shamanism occurs along the greater portion of the Northwest Coast of

North America, but is perhaps most highly developed among the tribe of Indians known as the Tlingit. Every Tlingit shaman has several familiars, for each of which there is a special mask. When the shaman dons a mask, it is believed that he has become possessed by the spirit represented, and the utterances of the shaman are for the time being regarded as the words of the spirit. At winter performances the shaman invokes his familiar spirits by drumming, singing special spirit songs, and dancing around the fire. His actions become more and more convulsive, and his eyes are distorted. Suddenly he stops, fixes his gaze on the upper side of the drum, and cries aloud. The Tlingit believe this to be the moment of inspiration, and the shaman's ensuing speech is regarded as that of the spirit.

Among Northwest Coast tribes to the south of the Tlingit, the possession of novices and secret society members is more prominent than possessional shamanism, and it reaches its climax among the Kwakiutl. In midwinter ceremonials, members of the Kwakiutl Hamatsa society wear masks representing spirits. They are, in fact, regarded as the spirits themselves, since it is believed that the spirits have entered their bodies to inspire them. While they are possessed by cannibal spirits, Hamatsa dancers pass into a frenzy and fling themselves upon bystanders, from whose arms they bite pieces of flesh.

Thomas Crosby, in his book *Up and Down the North Pacific Coast by Canoe and Mission Ship* (Toronto, 1914), has described the possession of a secret society novice among the Bella Bella:

"By a power uncontrollable the lithe young body is thrown around the great room, is doubled and twisted, and knotted into a hundred contortions, like a fowl deprived of its head. He is thumped against the earthen floor, and again thrown high enough to touch the beams, backwards and forwards, into every corner of the house, no one daring to lay a hand on him, but keeping as far as possible out of his way."

The Salish tribes of Puget Sound believe that guardian spirits return each midwinter, to possess individuals. Dancers are dressed to represent their guardian spirits, whose actions they imitate. Spirits enter into the bodies of the dancers, who with wild grimaces writhe in agonizing postures. While in a frenzied condition they are believed endowed with superhuman strength, and are held by other men by means of cords around the waist.

The Shaker cult is a unique form of Christianity which has spread widely among the tribes

of the Northwest Coast since its genesis in 1881. At the basis of the Shaker cult are the shamanistic ideas of the Indians of Puget Sound, and these have been overlaid with traits derived from Roman Catholicism and evangelical Protestantism. The cult is so named because of the shaking or quivering spells with which the devotees are seized, and which are symptomatic of possession.

In northern California and southwestern Oregon shamanistic power resided in the shaman in the form of "pains," which manifested themselves in bodily contortions and frenzied actions, and a bleeding at the mouth with a lapse into unconsciousness upon the original acquisition of power.

The Violent Bluejay

POSSESSION was less common among the California tribes than on the Northwest Coast, but has been reported for a few tribes. Wailaki shamans were believed to be possessed by bear spirits, and to actually turn into bears, whereupon they put their hands into the fire and ran around grunting, "hu, hu, hu," like a bear. The Sinkyone shaman is believed to have dwelling within him a spirit, which entered him at his original acquisition of power. The Wintu shaman is possessed while curing.

A violent form of possession is reported for the Colville and other tribes in the drainage of the Columbia and Fraser Rivers of the Plateau area. Colville shamans with bluejay spirit power were said to turn into bluejays at dances, and to fly out through a crack in the door and remain naked in the mountains for months. Other Colville shamans would go into a frenzy while dancing, bleed at the mouth, and crash through the wall of the tipi. The Southern Okanagan believed that a man's guardian spirit resides in his chest or in his heart. When a Thompson River shaman wished to heal, he summoned his guardian spirit by singing the spirit song which the spirit had taught him when it first appeared to him. The spirit entered the shaman's chest, enabling him to determine the cause of illness.

A. F. Chamberlain, in his article "Kootenay Medicine-Men" (*Journal of American Folklore,* 1901) has translated a Kootenay medicine song as follows:

"An Indian is crouching in the corner of his lodge beneath blankets, invoking the spirits. Soon the spirit enters through the top of the tent, passes beneath the blanket and enters the Indian, who then flies away on high; by-and-by returns, and, sitting under the blanket, causes the spirit to depart again."

In the Southwest the essential feature of possession is present among the Pueblos in that the Ka

Kachinas (generalized ancestral spirits) are believed to come in spirit to invest the dancers. When a dancer puts on the mask of a Kachina, he is considered the actual embodiment of that spirit. At Zuni the rites of the cult of the Beast Gods strongly resemble séances among other peoples in which the shaman is inspired, in that the beast gods are summoned by dancing, drumming, and shaking rattles, and the dancers work themselves into a frenzied condition in which they imitate animals.

The so-called "hand-trembling" ceremony of the Navaho appears to be a localized form of inspirational possession, in that the motion or shaking of the hand is attributed to a spirit having entered it. The Gila Monster Spirit controls the hand-trembling, and is prayed to by a diagnostician who wishes information. The diagnostician can pass into a trance, during which the spirits inform him of the nature of the disease and the appropriate cure. Leland Myman in his article "Navaho Diagnosticians" (*American Anthropologist,* 1936) quotes a Navaho as saying of a diagnostician, "The spirit simply entered him, and that is how he got it, by way of the spirit."

The Falseface Society

ELSEWHERE in the Southwest, a spirit enters the Yuma doctor while he is curing. Huachuca Mountain Apache shamans are possessed by bear spirits. The Havasupai shaman has residing within his chest a spirit, which sings and talks through his mouth. Similarly, spirits take possession of the Walapai shaman and speak through him.

Fewer instances of possession are known for the Middle West and eastern United States; nevertheless the phenomenon occurred. Sioux shamans in the Dakotas were believed to have mysterious beings dwelling within them, which gave them the power of healing. The Menomini of Wisconsin held a private memorial ceremony one year after a funeral in honor of the dead. The spirit of the deceased was recalled and temporarily inhabited the body of an individual especially selected to represent the departed.

Inspirational possession occurs among the Iroquois of New York, chiefly in connection with the shamanistic or medicine societies, each of which is organized to propitiate a particular class of supernatural beings with the objective of curing disease. Prominent among the medicine societies of the Seneca is the Falseface Society, which has the duty of propitiating the supernatural beings called falsefaces, who are conceived as evil spirits without bodies, only consisting of a hideous face. The performances are featured by masked representa-

tions of the falsefaces, who are believed to imbue the performers with their power. The masquerader is thought to become the spirit when he dons the mask. [See "Masked Clowns," page 108.]

To round out the distributional picture of possession in the New World, a few instances will be mentioned from Latin America. Possessional shamanism probably occurred over much of northern Mexico, although few instances have been reported. The shaman of the Kiliwa Indians of Baja California becomes possessed during the ceremony of Niwey, or "talking with the dead." He begins the rite by shaking a turtle shell rattle, and his spirit subsequently leaves his body and goes in search of the dead. A spirit enters his body and speaks through his mouth in a strange tongue. Among the Seri of the Island of Tiburon in the Gulf of California, a would-be shaman acquires his power by going to a sacred cave in the mountains, where a spirit may enter his body, giving him the power to cure and to see the cause of disease in a patient's body.

In the West Indies possession occurred aboriginally among the Carib Indians. In Panama the Chiriqui shaman was believed to be possessed by a spirit which spoke through his mouth. A Yaruro shaman in Venezuela uses great quantities of narcotics while performing, sings, dances, and shakes a rattle as an aid to working himself into an abnormal state. His soul then temporarily leaves his body, which is possessed by a succession of ancestral spirits. The moment of inspiration is indicated by the fact that the songs, which have been sung feebly and hesitantly while the soul of the shaman was in his body, suddenly become stronger and even violent.

Among the Bororo of Brazil the shaman acts as a medium through whom the souls of the dead can communicate with the living. Spirits possess the shaman and speak through him, and their presence is manifested by convulsive bodily movements. In Chile the Araucanian shaman, or machi, becomes possessed during a séance, having worked himself into a frenzy by beating a drum. Even as far south as Tierra del Fuego, the Yaghan shaman is possessed during his performances by a guardian spirit who sings and works while using the shaman's body as a vehicle.

Divinity in All

WHY, all over the world, do people hold the belief in the invasion of a mortal body by supernatural powers? I have no answer. Sir Edward B. Taylor, the great British anthropologist of the last century, often called the "father of anthropology," pointed out that animism, the belief in souls or spir-

ts, is universal, and he regarded t as the foundation of all religion. The concept of possession, although not universal, at least occurs in all quarters of the globe.

It is tempting to find parallels between the concept of possession and important beliefs in higher religions. Can possession be a less sophisticated version of the concept of "divinity in all"? Christians are familiar with the teaching that "the kingdom of Heaven lies within." They have read the Biblical account of the descent of the Holy Ghost on the day of Pentecost, and the subsequent "speaking in tongues." Hindus follow Yoga practices with the aim of awakening the Kundalini, the latent spiritual consciousness within. How similar to the latter is the "Great-Man" or soul-spirit concept of the Naskapi Indians of Labrador, in which one who has attained an extraordinary degree of control over his soul-spirit (which dwells in his heart) can induce it to perform miracles for him, and consequently becomes a shaman!

Is there a relation between all these beliefs? I do not know. Perhaps the belief in possession develops in many societies to meet a need deriving from the psychic unity of mankind, or we might attempt to account for it on the basis of diffusion of the concept from one society to another. But such explanations will fail to satisfy the mystic, who might attribute possession to a universal "consciousness of direct relations with the divine."

BOOKS MANUSCRIPTS CONSIDERED

by cooperative publisher who offers authors early publication, higher royalty, national distribution, and beautifully designed books. All subjects welcomed. Write, or send your MS directly.

GREENWICH BOOK PUBLISHERS, Inc.
Attn.: Mr. Harrold 489 Fifth Ave., N.Y.C.

TOMORROW — 500 Fifth Avenue, New York 36, N. Y.

Please enter/renew my subscription for one year at $2.00. Payment is enclosed.

Name .....

Street .....

City ..... Zone ..... State .....

Coming Soon in Tomorrow:

BRIDEY MURPHY —

Fact, Hoax, or Hallucination?

A Symposium on the current best-selling book on reincarnation, "The Search for Bridey Murphy."

The editors and contributors of TOMORROW are probably more truly concerned with, and qualified to judge, the worth and impact of this book than reviewers of most other publications in the United States.

Cognizant of the responsibility which the overnight success of this book has placed upon it, TOMORROW will present a detailed and thorough analysis of the content and implications of "The Search for Bridey Murphy."

Don't miss this issue! And if your subscription is about to expire, please send in your renewal today, using the coupon below—

.....

TOMORROW — 500 Fifth Avenue, New York 36, N. Y.

Please enter/renew my subscription for one year at $2.00. Payment is enclosed.

Name .....

Street .....

City ..... Zone ..... State .....

SHAMANS, WITCHES AND CHIEFS AMONG THE HOPI

Mischa Titiev

IT was in the summer of 1932, while I was a graduate student of anthropology, that I first made the acquaintance of the Hopi Indians of Arizona. At the time I was a member of a small field party that lived in the village of New Oraibi, at the foot of what local inhabitants call Third Mesa. However, the target of our study was the more conservative pueblo of Old Oraibi on the mesa's top. During the succeeding months I planned a return visit to the Hopi, and was lucky enough to get permission to live in Old Oraibi during the fall, winter, and spring of 1933-34. Ned, my closest friend among the natives, set aside a portion of his own house for my use, and here I lived and worked for the better part of a year.

Besides being my friend, Ned was also my best informant and constant interpreter, yet I must admit that I was glad on one occasion when he fell sick with an upset stomach. Neither indifference nor cruelty made me happy over his illness, but only the exciting fact that he had readily agreed to let me watch the manipulations of the shaman who had been summoned to attend him.

This was to be my first observation of a medicine man at close range, and I was as eager as the patient to have the treatment begin.

Dusk had fallen when the shaman arrived. In keeping with tribal custom Ned's wife promptly served their distinguished guest a hot meal. On a small square of linoleum, spread out on the floor, she placed a number of pottery bowls full of food. The medicine man sat on a little heap of sheepskins and ate, like any old-fashioned Hopi, sometimes with one hand and sometimes with both. I sat near by and doggedly watched his every move, for I was determined not to let him put anything over on me.

When the "doctor" had finished his meal he thanked his hostess, wiped his somewhat greasy hands on his jeans, and turned at last to his patient. This was the big moment! I inched as close as I dared, confident that I would soon be in a position to understand, and perhaps to expose, the innermost secrets of his profession. Despite my obvious eagerness to learn his tricks, the medicine man remained coolly indifferent to my presence. He knelt beside Ned, unbuttoned his shirt, and loosened his belt and the upper part of his trousers. Then he lightly massaged the sick man's stomach with his right hand, bringing it up to his mouth and blowing into it at the end of each series of movements.

Nothing happened the first three times, but when he blew into his hand for the fourth time—four is the sacred number of the Hopi—the shaman produced a tiny sliver of bone. This he showed to Ned and me, after which he placed it on the floor and resumed his manipulations. Close as I was, and anxious as I was to expose the methods of a primitive shaman, I must confess that I had no idea of where the bone came from, especially when it is remembered that only a few moments before I had watched the "doctor" eating with his hands.

Surgery Without Scars

WITH almost no delay the shaman resumed his massaging and on blowing into his hand again for the fourth time he produced a fragment of volcanic glass (obsidian), which he showed to the patient before placing next to the sliver of bone. Four breaths later he produced a few grains of blue mineral, from which the Hopi customarily make a paint that is used for decorating sacred objects. Thereupon the "doctor" stopped his manipulations and told a story that fixed the blame for Ned's illness on one of his remoter kinsmen, a suspected witch who had, supposedly, "shot" the foreign objects into Ned's stomach because

he was jealous of the high position Ned held in several ceremonies. That done, the medicine man picked up the bits of bone, glass, and pigment, threw them into the fire, and assured the sick man that he would soon get better. He then gave him a brew of hot water and herbs, left an additional supply with Ned's wife, with instructions that the patient was to repeat the dose several times during the next two days, and set out for his home.

Sure enough, Ned promptly recovered. As soon as he seemed up to it I discussed the entire incident with him, still hoping to convince him that he had been the victim of a fraud. "Did you notice," I asked, "that the medicine man was supposed to have taken those things out of your stomach, yet your skin was never broken and the objects were dry and bloodless?"

"Oh yes," Ned replied gravely, "I noticed that. Aren't those medicine men wonderful? Who else could take things out of your stomach without breaking the skin and without getting them wet or bloody?"

That was when I got my first insight into the common basis of Hopi beliefs in the paranormal. Regardless of what I thought, Ned was convinced that a witch had shot foreign objects into his body, and that a shaman had taken them out. From the native point of view a witch is a person who uses paranormal or supernatural power for antisocial purposes. Ability to perform what may be described as "black magic" is known as *duhisa,* and is supposedly derived from an animal familiar. The amount of *duhisa* varies with the nature of a sorcerer's associated beast. Greatest of all power is obtained from little black ants; but coyotes, wolves, owls, crows, bull snakes, cats, and dogs are also thought to provide malefactors with evil power. In keeping with such a concept all witches are said to be two-hearted, that is, possessed of an animal heart in addition to the normal one.

Sorcerer's Apprentice

SORCERERS maintain their numbers either by accepting voluntary recruits, or else by teaching their craft to children who are too young to be fully aware of what is happening. In cases of this kind witches are supposed to steal away sleeping youngsters whose parents or guardians have first been charmed into a deep slumber. Such a kidnaper can carry off only a child who is related to him. The unconscious infant is hurried to a secret place where it is inducted into the order of witches. The initiatory proceedings closely duplicate those of the highly regarded secret societies which

conduct all Hopi ceremonies. Thus, the novice must be sponsored by a ceremonial father who belongs in the ranks of the sorcerers, his head is washed with yucca suds, and he is given a new name.

In addition, the initiate is taught how to transfer himself into the particular kind of beast with which his sponsor is associated. For example, if a ceremonial parent has a coyote familiar, he teaches the novice whom he is inducting how to turn into a coyote. These metamorphoses are accomplished by somersaulting through a hoop, and one's normal shape is resumed by tumbling backward through the same hoop. Once having gone through the rites a neophyte is considered to have acquired a second heart and the paranormal power to perform black magic. Since the entire procedure may take place without anyone's awareness, no ordinary Hopi has any inkling of how many witches there are, or who they may be. Nevertheless, the Hopi firmly believe that sorcery is widespread, and that there are more witches than single-hearted folk in each of their villages. They also believe that evil doers may be of either sex and of any age.

Whether they have become involved wittingly or otherwise, all witches are dedicated to the taking of human life. To prolong his own existence each sorcerer is obliged annually to cause the death of one of his relatives. This is thought to be done most often by shooting foreign objects into a prospective victim. Disease-causing substances are intruded into a person's body without his knowledge and without making a scar at the point of entry. Indeed, a victim is unlikely to know why he has fallen ill until a medicine man has "extracted" the harmful material. The Hopi believe that if a witch grows repentant and fails to do what is expected, he is himself doomed to die in the near future.

Two-Hearted Magic

ON the basis of a widespread belief that the same kind of power which causes an ailment can also cure it, the Hopi tend to equate their shamans with witches. The difference between them is attributed to the fact that "doctors" are two-hearted individuals who have repented and are now trying to prolong their own lives by saving those of others. Some of the Hopi used to express great indignation whenever a medicine man was slow in coming to the aid of a patient. "They've got to be ready to help sick people," many folk would mutter. "They've got to do it to protect their own lives."

Because of the close connection between sorcery and curing, all medicine men are regarded with

a mixture of respect and fear. Many parents hesitate a long time before summoning a native "doctor," not because they are callous, but because they are reluctant to entrust their children to a reputed witch. Nevertheless, successful shamans are well paid. Most of them are very clever in taking advantage of Hopi beliefs, blaming their failures on sorcerers more powerful than themselves, whom they cannot control. A few practitioners are bold enough to openly name the villagers they suspect of witchcraft in a given case, but most medicine men prefer to take refuge in vague generalities. "Just keep your eyes and ears open," they say, "and you'll find out who is responsible."

So great is the fear of retaliation that no action is likely to be taken even if a witch is named. On one occasion a neighbor of mine at Old Oraibi told me that a shaman had just relieved his daughter of an earache by extracting graveyard sand. In this case the sorcerer had been identified as a female relative. When I asked my friend what he intended to do about it he replied, "Nothing. Some day she'll die."

The worst thing that a person can do is to accept a bribe from a two-hearted malefactor, for the witch is sure to get even by harming the bribe-taker. Correct procedure in cases of this kind is illustrated by an episode that was said to have occurred some years ago, when one of Ned's sisters lay dying in childbirth. Their father happened to step outside the house late at night, and there he found an old woman looking through the closed door "by magic." When she realized that she had been caught she first offered Ned's father a present, and then asked him if he would like to sleep with her. When he refused, she hurried away and the father followed her until he was certain that he had identified her as one of the patient's grandmothers. Despite the correct observance of all the Hopi rules for dealing with witches, "This woman didn't die," I was told, "and is now very old."

Because the natives are so afraid of taking steps to rid themselves of the two-hearted, it follows that many residents of the Hopi pueblos live under suspicion of sorcery. Some are supposed to have been named by "doctors," others are thought to have been caught in the act, and a few are believed to have been identified at the last moment by dying victims. Most of the suspected individuals pretend indifference, but every now and then a bold person guarantees his own safety by taking advantage of the dread in which he is held. "I'm watching you all the time," a suspect may say to anyone who annoys him, "and if you don't

stop something is going to happen to you soon."

The Supernormal is Distrusted

ONE of the most telling features of the Hopi attitude toward witchcraft is reflected in their religious beliefs. On the whole, Hopi religion is markedly non-ethical, but sorcerers are severely punished after death. When ordinary persons die their souls are supposed to hasten to *Maski*, the home of the dead, where they live existences comparable to life on earth. Spirits of witches, in contrast, make a slow and painful journey to *Maski*. When, at last, they reach their destination, they are forced to take a path leading to a huge earth oven. Here they are thrown into a blazing fire, from which they emerge as beetles.

In addition to the link between witchcraft and curing rites, another reason why the Hopi mistrust their shamans is their aversion to any person who shows what they regard as supernormal power; or toward anyone whose behavior is marked in their eyes by individuality, eccentricity, recklessness, aggressiveness, daring, or bragging. A distaste for such traits, as many readers will recognize, is typical of the kind of temperament that the late Prof. Ruth Benedict (Boston, 1934) called Apollonian in her famous book, *Patterns of Culture*. Appollonian is the term used by the German philosopher Friedrich Nietzsche in describing one of the aspects of Greek culture. The Appollonian society distrusts the excesses of experience sought by the mystic. This society tries to remain confined within the boundaries of conventional experience, and finds ways to outlaw anything that attempts to transcend the limits of the five senses. Among the Hopi, the Apollonian concept may be carried to such an extreme that even the highest officers of a pueblo may be looked upon as witches.

Because they know how likely those in authority are to be regarded as sorcerers, Hopi men and women are reluctant to seek high office. By the same token those who do become chiefs, usually on account of family connections, adopt an air of great humility.

Anthropologists disagree on whether their personal timidity has led to the formation of an Apollonian culture; or whether the existence of an Apollonian culture has made them grow up as timid individuals. Certainly either possibility is plausible. In the meantime, those of the Hopi who have remained orthodox continue to lead sober and restrained lives, and to regard with a mixture of awe, fear, and respect, all manifestations of paranormal power on the part of their shamans, witches and chiefs.

THE HOPI KACHINA CULT

Frederick Dockstader

THE Hopi Indians of northeastern Arizona have developed an elaborate rain-ceremony in which extensive use is made of male dancers who perform in colorful costumes and masks. These impersonators, known as Kachina Dancers, represent the legendary Kachinas who are believed to have lived at one time on earth, but who now exist only in a vague spirit world. They cannot be seen by mortals, but are regarded as being in regular contact with the Hopis. For half of the year they spend their time in the Kachina World, and are then expected to pass the balance of the time in the Hopi villages where they fulfill their several religious functions.

No one knows how many Kachinas there are. Individual Beings come and go, as their identity is forgotten, or as new ones are introduced. More than 350 have been catalogued, and many more undoubtedly existed in earlier days. Although much of the ritual has been affected by contacts with white civilization, the essential basis of the Kachina cult seems to be preëminently a pre-Columbian Pueblo trait which is still to be seen in the villages today.

These Kachinas are not worshipped as gods, but are considered benign supernaturals who visit with mortals and exert a degree of control over special natural phenomena such as rain, animal fertility, and the growth of crops. They are equally important in certain social expressions, for they educate, entertain, and punish. Their rites reveal much of the color and pageantry frequently absent in other phases of day-to-day Hopi life.

Aid from the Underworld

THE familiar carved and painted wood "Kachina dolls," called *Kachintihü* by the Hopis, are not idols, contrary to common belief. They are essentially educational devices made for the children so that they will grow up well-acquainted with the many Kachinas. That they have become so popular with the white men is a tribute to Hopi art design.

A not-too-clearly defined element of ancestor worship is detectable in this religious expression, since many of the Kachinas are regarded as the "Ancients" of a particular clan. There is also a marked tendency toward totemism in the use of many animals as these clan ancestors.

But it is the feature of life-after-death which often surprises many white men, for this is not too common in Amerindian religion. The Hopi believes that when a person dies, he may become Kachina, and as such live in the Underworld which is, in essence, the counterpart of mortal existence. Almost everything in earthly existence is duplicated in the Kachina World, even to the extent of providing these Beings with a family, pets, sweethearts, daily duties and living places. None of this, of course, can be seen by mortal eye, until the Kachinas come to visit the villages.

However, when these visits take place, the Kachinas are not considered ghosts. They are welcomed, for they are primarily understood to be helpful to man. Without them, there would be no rain, hence no crops.

The nearest thing to a Kachina ghost is perhaps Masau'u Kachina, who may equated with the Spirit of Death. He alone can come to the villages during the "closed season" when the Kachinas are supposed to be away in their own world, for death can come at any time. His visit is not anticipated with pleasure, and when he roams the streets at night dressed in his blood-spattered costume, everyone stays indoors.

The degree to which the Hopis believe in the Kachina power can be shown in the attitude of the personator. When a dancer dons the costume and mask, he is not only regarded by others as a Kach-

ina, but believes himself to be "Kachina." As such, he is temporarily sacrosanct; none may touch him, nor does he converse with mortals. For the duration of the ceremony he is, in Hopi eyes, a complete transubstantiation. Yet, when the ceremony is over, the transmutation back to Hopi existence is simple. There are no major after-effects, nor does the Hopi, having participated in the Kachina Dance, consider himself particularly blessed because of the experience. Since all men go through the same ritual as a matter of village duty, there is no feeling of special privilege.

The key item in this departure from the mortal world is the mask. The balance of the costume is often worn without the mask in social dances having no religious import; but once the mask is donned, the character of the ceremony changes completely. Great liberties may be taken with Kachina costume in the use of borrowed materials, imitative paraphernalia, or unorthodox substitutes; but similar license is rarely taken with the ceremonial mask. It is usually made of leather or cloth, painted and decorated in specified fashion for each particular role that it plays in the ceremony. It is interesting to note that when a man dies, his face is covered with a "cloud mask" before burial, for he has now become a Kachina.

Community Prayer Drama

THE place of imitative magic is important in the cult. Much of the performance is concerned with an attempt to force or beguile wishes by such magical acts as symbolically pulling rain from the clouds, racing to hasten the growth of crops, great groups of cloud feathers to concentrate the source of rain, and so on. The marked use of symbols to impress the spirits can be seen in the many rain, cloud, thunder, rainbow, and sun designs. The extensive use of water creatures (frog, tadpole, turtle) is emphatic of the importance of water in Hopi consciousness. Accessories such as lightning sticks, rain rattles, cloud feathers and evergreen boughs are all indicative of the intense concentration upon this need.

Since corn is a basic food, it is to be expected that it figures prominently in the Kachina ritual. Symbolic corn designs are used in profusion. Corn ears are important emblems, and there are special Corn Kachinas who function as caretakers responsible for the encouragement of corn growth.

Sound plays its part in the use of certain musical instruments suggestive of thunder and falling rain, while chants include repeated appeals to the Rain Spirits to visit the people. Many of these appeals are carried on in an archaic language whose exact meaning is no

longer remembered. Not only are these chants regarded as prayers, but the whole performance is actually a prayer drama in which the spectator plays as important a part as the personator. While the more rigid requirements of continence and food tabu apply primarily to the dancer, it is nevertheless obligatory for the spectators to maintain pure thoughts, happy hearts, and strict concentration on the common need. Unless there is this mutual effort, the ceremony loses most of its effectiveness in Hopi eyes.

Dream Creates New Kachina

ONE of the more interesting features of the Kachina cult is the role played by dreams. Since the use of visions and dreams is not an unusual Amerindian phenomenon, it is not too surprising to find that the Hopi accepts such manifestations as a normal part of the Kachina World. One actual incident, which has been historically recorded, demonstrates one of the several ways in which new Kachinas may be introduced.

According to this account, the Hopis had been undergoing a long drought not uncommon in that arid country. In an effort to break the dry spell, every known measure had been taken, but without success. Even the most ancient Kachinas had been revived, many of them so old that they were but vague shadows in the memories of the oldest people.

Finally, a young Hopi, emaciated and weak, fell asleep. While he slept, a great number of Mixed Kachinas appeared in his dreams. Among them was one whose costume and mask were entirely unfamiliar to him. But, as he watched, the new Being danced, and rain fell.

He awoke, strangely refreshed. Remembering the dream, he hastened to report the vision to his kiva mates—the men who participated with him in rituals held in the kiva, or ceremonial structure. In his mind was not only the hope of alleviating the suffering of the village, but equally the realization that whoever should effect such a miracle would inevitably gain great prestige. And so he described the strange Being in great detail, arguing that it must be a sign. The men all listened carefully to his description of the dream costume and agreed it was indeed different. They were particularly impressed by the unusual kilt of yucca leaves worn by the Kachina; this had never been seen before.

After singing the new song he had composed, the youth urged his companions to try this new ceremony, at least, for he was convinced it would bring success. After considerable careful reflection, all agreed it was indeed worth a trial, and asked the youth to teach them

the costume and mask design. Because of the peculiar costume, he had decided to name it Movitkúntäqä Kachina—Yucca Kilt Man.

Powers, Not Players

AND so it was that the new Kachina soon appeared. All of the village eagerly assembled on Dance Day in the hopes that this would achieve what all other attempts had failed. The younger children knew only that a new Kachina was coming to visit them; they did not know these were masked humans, for that secret was withheld until initiation ceremonies. But they sensed this was no ordinary Being, and their eyes were large. The adults were tense with the importance of the event.

First came the far-off sound of turtle-shell rattles, clacking rhythmically. At once the crowd grew silent. As the dancers approached from the kiva, the rattling increased with each step. There was no other sound to be heard but the crisp clack-clack coming nearer.

A low murmur went through the crowd as the first of the Movitkúntäqä Kachinas appeared at the far end of the plaza. The white masks with red and black designs stood out in the bright sunlight; each was topped with a tripod of light blue sticks which had been fastened with brilliant feathers. These made an impressive sight as they dipped and waved. The Hopis noted that this Kachina could hear well—for he had special feather ears; and his forehead held a promise of rain, for the rainbow was painted upon it. Around his neck was the traditional evergreen collar.

The body, bare as usual, had been painted with brown lines against a white background which made the dancers contrast in striking fashion against the group of viewers. Each dancer held a gourd rattle in his right hand, which he moved in rhythm with the turtle-shell rattle tied to his right leg. In the left hand was held a bow and a small cluster of evergreen.

But the kilt caught the eyes of all, for it was the most unusual feature. The long strips of yucca leaves had been fastened to the waist, and made a leafy skirt which swayed in unison with the dancers' steps.

The full line of dancers arrived in position for the performance. They stood silently, awaiting the signal to begin. The young Hopi leader, standing in the middle of the line, felt a thrill go through him; then he signaled with his rattle, and the dance began.

Stamping with his right foot, he gave the beat which each man picked up along the line until all were moving in perfect unison. The voices of the chanters surged as the performers abandoned them-

selves to the effort to call down the precious rain. Each man *was* Kachina; there was no feeling of play-acting, for with the donning of the mask, each knew that he had become a supernatural power.

As the ceremony went on and on, the spectators kept looking upward anxiously, searching the clear blue sky. But there were no clouds. They looked at one another uneasily, each wondering if his own thoughts and actions had not been sufficiently pure—or if his neighbor was the one whose prayers lacked faith.

All through the day the dancers performed, stopping only for an occasional rest. They poured out their prayers in song, being careful not to lose step, or to make a mistake. Yet still the skies remained like the best turquoise.

Faith Brings Rain

DURING the final recess, the dancers carefully avoided bad thoughts which would cancel any possible good. It was hard not to think of their failure; it was even more difficult to avoid questioning the sincerity of the other performers. The young Hopi particularly shunned the glances of his partners, for he knew only too well how they felt. He realized he had been more concerned with what the new Kachina would bring to him personally than with what it might mean to his people.

As the dancers walked into the plaza for the last series of dances, a wave of desperation went through the whole assemblage. Grimly the leader shook his rattle to begin; this was the last chance. Down went the feet, surely fitting the rhythm into the set pattern. On and on went the song until the first set ended. There was a quiet urgency about the performance which communicated itself to the spectators; now there was no disunity. All shared the common prayer. Each felt himself responsible for his neighbor, and none looked askance at another.

And as this set started, a sudden gust of wind blew into the plaza. As one, every face turned upward —and saw the clouds. Though yet small, there was no question that they were hurrying to answer the call of the Kachinas. They gathered size and speed as they came, and all were overjoyed to realize that these were real Water Carriers.

Instantly the dancers started with renewed fervor. The wind increased in strength, and the clouds came closer. The voices of the performers gained volume; their steps became more insistent in an effort to pull down the rain from the clouds, and they pounded upon the roof of the Underworld, calling to those below. On and on went the dance, hypnotic in its effect. Then, abruptly, a spatter of rain-

drops fell in the plaza. Soon this increased into a shower, and the assembled breathed thanks.

As the performers moved to the rhythm for the last dance, many of the spectators hastened to the edge of the mesa to look down on the fields below. A welcome sight met their eyes: sheets of water were falling upon the parched land, and the corn fields were eagerly drinking in the life-giving moisture.

Moral of the Sleet

NOW the dancers were starting again, and the throng allied their prayers with those of the Kachinas. But, as they did so, the weather began to get colder. The breeze turned to a strong wind, the rain became sleet, and ice began to form in the puddles. The dancers shivered in the cold.

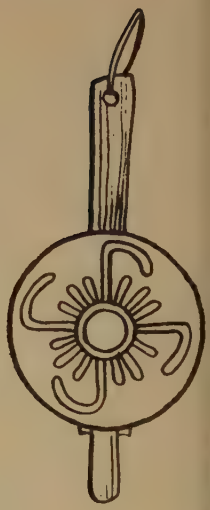
With the end of the performance, the performers hastened to the kiva to warm themselves, and the villagers went indoors. The abrupt drop in temperature alarmed everyone. What had gone wrong?

There was less question in the mind of the young Hopi. He realized that the rain had been a symbolic gift for the faith that had caused them all to continue their search in the face of skepticism and reversal. But the sleet and ice was also a sign that the real Kachinas were displeased with his vanity and ambition. It was a bitter lesson to learn.

In subsequent years, Movitkùntäqä Kachina has been performed only once or twice, and oddly enough, each performance has been accompanied by intense cold, sleet, or snowstorm. Today it is regarded by Hopis as an "abandoned" Kachina: one that will probably never be repeated. Occasionally small Movitkùntäqä Kachintihü are made for children, in order to perpetuate the costume and to accompany a re-telling of the story; but even these are not commonly seen and may only be found on rare occasions.

Thus the outcome of this episode is considered an object lesson: Kachinas do not belong to any individual. They are for the good of all; and to lose faith, selfishly regard their gifts as personal bounty, or to otherwise misuse their power must result in inevitable disaster.

THE PEYOTE WAY



J. S. Slotkin

PEYOTE (*Lophophora williamsi*) is a spineless cactus which grows in the northern half of Mexico and for a short distance north of the Texas border. It has attracted attention because it is used as a sacrament in religious rites conducted by Indians in the United States and Canada belonging to the Native American Church. The Peyote Religion or Peyote Way, as it is called by members, is the most widespread contemporary religion among the Indians, and is continually spreading to additional tribes.

From the viewpoint of almost all Peyotists, the religion is an Indian version of Christianity. White Christian theology, ethics, and eschatology have been adopted with modifications which make them more compatible with traditional Indian culture. The religion probably originated among the Kiowa and Comanche in Oklahoma about 1885.

The Peyote rite is an all-night ceremony, lasting approximately from sunset to sunrise, characteristically held in a Plains type tipi. Essentially the rite has four major elements: prayer, singing, eating the sacramental Peyote, and contemplation. The ritual is well defined, being divided into four periods: from sunset to midnight, from midnight to three o'clock, from three o'clock to dawn, and from dawn to morning. Four fixed

songs sung by the rite leader, analogous to the fixed songs in the Catholic mass, mark most of these divisions.

The rite within the tipi begins with the Starting Song; the midnight period is marked by the Midnight Water Song; there is no special song at three o'clock; at dawn there is the Morning Water Song, and the rite ends with the Quitting Song. At midnight sacred water is drunk again and a communion meal eaten.

Usually five people officiate at the rite. Four are men: the leader, often referred to as the Roadman because he leads the group along the Peyote Road (that is, the Peyotist way of life) to salvation; the drum chief who accompanies the leader when he sings; the cedar chief who is in charge of cedar incense; and the fire chief who maintains a ritual fire and acts as sergeant-at-arms. A close female relative of the leader, usually his wife, brings in, and prays over, the morning water.

In clockwise rotation, starting with the leader, each male participant sings a set of four solo songs; he is accompanied on a water drum by the man to his right. The singing continues from the time of the Starting Song to that of the Morning Water Song; the number of rounds of singing therefore depends upon the amount of men present. On most occasions there are four rounds, so that each man sings a total of sixteen songs.

"God Pitied the Indian"

DURING the rite Peyote is taken in one of the following forms: the fresh whole plant except for roots (green Peyote), the dried top of the plant (Peyote button), or an infusion of the Peyote button in water (Peyote tea). Some people have no difficulty taking Peyote. But many find it bitter, inducing indigestion or nausea. A common complaint is, "It's hard to take Peyote."

The amount taken depends upon the individual, and the solemnity of the ritual occasion. There is great tribal variability in amount used, and accurate figures are virtually impossible to obtain. But in general one might say that under ordinary circumstances the bulk of the people take less than a dozen Peyotes. On the most serious occasions, such as rites held for someone mortally sick, those present take as much Peyote as they can; the capacity of most people seems to range from about four to forty Peyote buttons.

Peyotists have been organized into the Native American Church since 1918. These church groups run the gamut of comprehensiveness from the single local group on the one extreme, to the intertribal and international federation known as the Native American

Church of North America, on the other extreme.

In a series of other publications I have discussed the early history of Peyotism ("Peyotism, 1521-1891," *American Anthropologist,* 57 (1955), pp. 202-230), presented an historical and generalized account of the religion (in a book to be published in 1956), and given a detailed description of the Peyote Religion in a single tribe ("Menomini Peyotism," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society,* 42 (1952), pt. 4)—all from the viewpoint of a relatively detached anthropologist. The present essay is different. Here I concentrate on the contemporary uses of, and attitudes toward, sacramental Peyote, and write as a member and officer of the Native American Church of North America. Of course the presentation is mine, but I think substantially it represents the consensus of our membership.

Long ago God took pity on the Indian. (Opinions vary as to when this happened: when plants were created at the origin of the world, when Jesus lived, or after the white man had successfully invaded this continent.) So God created Peyote and put some of his power into it for the use of Indians. Therefore the Peyotist takes the sacramental Peyote to absorb God's power contained in it, in the same way that the white Christian takes the sacramental bread and wine.

Lesson of Peyote

POWER is the English term used by Indians for the supernatural force called *mana* by anthropologists; it is equivalent to the New Testament *pneuma,* translated as Holy Spirit or Holy Ghost. Power is needed to live. As a Crow Indian once remarked to me as we were strolling near a highway, man is like an auto; if the car loses its power it cannot go. Physically, power makes a person healthy, and safe when confronted by danger. Spiritually, power gives a person knowledge of how to behave successfully in everyday life, and what to make of one's life as a whole. The Peyotist obtains power from the sacramental Peyote.

Physically, Peyote is used as a divine healer and amulet.

For sick people Peyote is used in various ways. In a mild illness Peyote is taken as a home remedy. Thus when a man has a cold, he drinks hot Peyote tea and goes to bed. In more serious illnesses Peyote is taken during the Peyote rite. Such an illness is due not only to lack of sufficient power but also to a foreign object within the body. Therefore a seriously sick person who takes Peyote usually vomits, thus expelling the foreign object which is the precipitating cause of the illness; therefore more Peyote is taken in order to obtain the amount of power needed for health.

In cases of severe illness, the rite itself is held for the purpose of healing the patient; it is often referred to as a doctoring meeting. In addition to having the sick person take Peyote, as in less desperate cases, everyone else present prays to God to give the patient extra power so he or she will recover.

Members may keep a Peyote button at home, or on their person, to protect them from danger. The latter is particularly true of men in the armed forces. The power within the Peyote wards off harm from anything in the area of its influence. In cases of great danger, as when a young man is about to leave for military service, a prayer meeting is held at which everyone present beseeches God to give the man extra power to avoid harm.

Spiritually, Peyote is used to obtain knowledge. This is known as learning from Peyote. Used properly, Peyote is an inexhaustible teacher. A stock statement is, "You can use Peyote all your life, but you'll never get to the end of what there is to be known from Peyote. Peyote is always teaching you something new." Many Peyotists say that the educated white man obtains his knowledge from books —particularly the Bible; while the uneducated Indian has to obtain his knowledge from Peyote. But the Indian's means of achieving knowledge is superior to that of the white man. The latter learns from books merely what other people have to say; the former learns from Peyote by direct experience.

A Comanche once said, "The white man talks *about* Jesus; we talk *to* Jesus." Thus the individual has a vividly direct experience of what he learns, qualitatively different from inference or hearsay. Therefore the Peyotist, epistemologically speaking, is an individualist and empiricist; he believes only what he himself has experienced.

A Peyotist maxim is, "The only way to find out about Peyote is to take it and learn from Peyote yourself." It may be interesting to know what others have to say; but all that really matters is what one has directly experienced—what he has learned himself from Peyote. This conception of salvation by knowledge, to be achieved by revelation (in this case, through Peyote) rather than through verbal or written learning, is a doctrine similar to that of early Middle Eastern Gnosticism.

The mere act of eating Peyote does not itself bring knoweldge. The proper ritual behavior has to be observed before one is granted knowledge through Peyote. Physically, one must be clean, having bathed and put on clean clothes. Spiritually, one must put away all

evil thought. Psychologically, one must be conscious of his personal inadequacy, humble, sincere in wanting to obtain the benefits of Peyote, and concentrate on it.

A Gift of Tongues

PEYOTE teaches in a variety of ways.

One common way in which Peyote teaches is by heightening the sensibility of the Peyotist, either in reference to himself or to others.

Heightened sensibility to oneself manifests itself as increased powers of introspection. One aspect of introspection is very important in Peyotism. During the rite a good deal of time is spent in self-evaluation. Finally the individual engages in silent or vocal prayer to God, confessing his sins, repenting, and promising to follow the Peyote Road (that is, the Peyotist ethic) more carefully in the future. If he has spiritual evil within him, Peyote makes him vomit, thus purging him of sin.

Heightened sensibility to others manifests itself as what might be called mental telepathy. One either feels that he knows what others are thinking, or feels that he either influences, or is influenced by, the thoughts of others. In this connection a frequent phenomenon is speaking in tongues, which results from the fact that people from different tribes participate in a rite together, each using his own language; Peyote teaches one the meaning of otherwise unknown languages.

For example, during the rite each male participant in succession sings solo four songs at a time. Recently a Winnebago sitting next to me sang a song with what I heard as a Fox text (Fox is an Algonquian language closely related to Menomini, the language I use in the rite), sung so clearly and distinctly I understood every word.

When he was through, I leaned over and asked, "How come you sang that song in Fox rather than Winnebago (a Siouan language unintelligible to me)?"

"I did sing it in Winnebago," he replied. The afternoon following the rite he sat down next to me and asked me to listen while he repeated the song; this time it was completely unintelligible to me because the effects of Peyote had worn off.

A second common way in which Peyote teaches is by means of revelation, called a vision. The vision is obtained because one has eaten enough Peyote under the proper ritual conditions to obtain the power needed to commune with the spirit world. The vision provides a direct experience (visual, auditory, or a combination of both) of God or some intermediary spirit, such as Jesus, Peyote Spirit (the

personification of Peyote), or Waterbird.

The nature of the vision depends upon the personality and problems of the individual. The following are typical: He may be comforted by seeing or hearing some previously unexperienced item of Peyotist belief, or departed loved ones now in a happy existence. He may be guided on the one hand by being shown the way to solve some problem in daily life; on the other hand, he may be reproved for evil thoughts or deeds, and warned to repent.

Harmony and Healing

A third way in which Peyote teaches is by means of a mystical experience. This is relatively uncommon. It is limited to Peyotists of a certain personality type among the more knowledgeable members of the church; roughly speaking, they have what white people would call a mystical temperament. These Peyotists, in turn, rarely have visions, and tend to look upon them as distractions. The mystical experience may be said to consist in the harmony of all immediate experience with whatever the individual conceives to be the highest good.

Peyote has the remarkable property of helping one to have a mystical experience for an indefinite period of time, as opposed to most forms of mystical discipline under which the mystical experience commonly lasts for a matter of minutes. Actually, I have no idea of how long I could maintain such an experience with Peyote, for after about an hour or so it is invariably interrupted by some ritual detail I am required to perform.

What happens to the Peyotist phenomenologically that makes possible the extraordinary results I have described? It seems to depend on both the physiological and psychological effects of Peyote.

Physiologically, Peyote seems to have curative properties. Many times, after a variety of illnesses brought about by fieldwork conditions, I have left a Peyote meeting permanently well again.

Another physiological effect of Peyote is that it reduces fatigue to an astonishing extent. For instance, I am not robust, but after taking Peyote I can participate in the rite with virtually no fatigue—a rite which requires me to sit on the ground, cross-legged, with no back rest, and without moving, for 10 to 14 hours at a stretch; all this in the absence of food and water.

Final Warnings

PSYCHOLOGICALLY, Peyote increases one's sensitivity to relevant stimuli. This applies to both external and internal stimuli. Externally, for example, the ritual fire has more intense colors when I am under the influence of Pey-

ote. Internally, I find it easier to introspect upon otherwise vague immediate experiences.

At the same time, Peyote decreases one's sensitivity to irrelevant external and internal stimuli. Very little concentration is needed for me to ignore distracting noises inside or outside the tipi. Similarly, extraneous internal sensations or ideas are easily ignored.

Thus, on one occasion I wrote in my field diary, "I could notice no internal sensations. If I paid very close attention, I could observe a vague and faint feeling that suggested that without Peyote my back would be sore from sitting up in one position all night; the same was true of my crossed legs. Also, my mouth might be dry, but I couldn't be sure."

The combination of such effects as absence of fatigue, heightened sensitivity to relevant stimuli, and lowered sensitivity to irrelevant stimuli, should make it easier to understand how the individual is disposed to learn from Peyote under especially created ritual conditions.

To any reader who becomes intrigued by Peyote, two warnings should be given. First, I have discussed the effects of Peyote on those who used it as a sacrament under ritual conditions. The described responses of white people to Peyote under experimental conditions are quite different; in fact, they tend to be psychologically traumatic. Second, Peyote is a sacrament in the Native American Church, which refuses to permit the presence of curiosity seekers at its rites, and vigorously opposes the sale or use of Peyote for non-sacramental purposes.

INDEX OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Cover Design, Totem Pole, The Northwestern United States
Page 9, Shell Gorget, breast ornament depicting woodpeckers, Tennessee
Page 17, Tlinkit Hawk Mask of painted wood, Alaska
Page 25, Kachina Ceremonial Mask, Southwestern United States
Page 33, Rain Cloud Symbol of Southwestern United States
Page 41, Seneca Spirit Mask of painted wood, New York
Page 51, Hopi painted wood batons, carried in Mamzrau Ceremony, Southwest
Page 57, Kachina Dancer in Ceremonial Costume, Southwest
Page 64, American Indian Swastika design
Page 71, Iroquois Corn Husk Mask, worn during curing rites, New York
Page 77, Pueblo Kachina Doll, child's toy, Southwestern United States
Page 91, Wooden Salish Figure carving, Northwestern Washington
Page 97, Navaho Sand Painting of Sky Father and Earth Mother, Arizona
Page 108, Kwakiutl Ancestor Spirit Mask, Vancouver Island
Page 113, Haida Totem Pole, Northwest coast, British Columbia

THREE GODS FOR JOE

Omer C. Stewart

JOE GREEN, a Northern Paiute Indian of the Cui-ui eaters, lived at Pyramid Lake, Nevada, but frequently stayed with his married daughter in the Reno-Sparks Indian Colony. In the 1930's Joe Green was a famous shaman or medicine man, called a *pohari* in Northern Paiute, who had received his power to cure during a dream. He was known to Indians other than his own people because of his healing skills. He was recognized by the scientific world for his service as a cooperative and careful anthropological informant. Descriptions of the visions through which he had received his shamanistic power had been published and his ancient curing methods had been compared with those of other medicine men of the western United States.

A successful shaman would always receive half-pay, between twenty and fifty dollars, when he was asked to visit a patient and diagnose an illness. Full payment followed the curing ritual. Northern Paiute shamans used their special "familiar spirits" for both diagnosis and treatment of disease, but they also had to follow the strict rules of conduct dictated by the spirits. Thus the *pohari* was in intimate contact with superna-

tural beings who were both his servants and his masters. Compensations for enduring the dangers and discomforts of association with the spirits was both material and social. Shamans earned money and were honored members of the tribe. Since Joe Green had enjoyed the confidence of his own tribe and neighboring Washo Indians his fees for doctoring, paid in advance, made him a wealthy Indian. Why, then, should Joe Green become a member of the new religion in the Northern Paiute area called the Native American Church or peyote cult?

"Don't Both Worship God?"

WHEN I was told that the noted Indian doctor, Joe Green, was a member of the semi-Christian peyote cult recently introduced from Oklahoma by a Washo half-breed I was doubtful of the accuracy of the information. I wanted to question him myself, for if the reports were true I would have an interesting analysis and interpretation to do to explain the compatibility of two very diverse religions. I was surprised to learn that Joe Green was attending an all state interdenominational conference of Christian missionaries at the moment I sought him for an interview. Before I contacted him I spoke with the Baptist Missionary to the Indians at the Reno-Sparks Colony, who had arranged the interdenominational conference, and asked him about Joe's participation in the conference. He explained to me that Joe Green had been selected as the most devout Christian among Nevada Indians and had been invited to be the main speaker of the conference. Among the Christian missionaries, Joe Green was renowned as a steady and reliable Episcopalian deacon at Pyramid Lake who made excellent faith-promoting talks in good English. When I mentioned that I had heard rumors to the effect that Joe might be a member of the peyote cult, the Christian minister stated that this would be impossible, since Joe was such a good Christian.

Joe Green, himself, made his position clear and confirmed the report that he had first used peyote 25 years before during a short stay of a traveling peyote "roadman" and that now he attended peyote ceremonies whenever the opportunity presented itself. He also said he was a loyal, active Episcopalian and regularly attended the services at Christian churches even when away from his home mission at the Reservation on Pyramid Lake. He saw no reason to give up either the Native American Church (peyote cult) or the Episcopal Mission.

When I asked Joe if there were conflicting ideas between peyotism

and Christianity, he answered: "No! Don't both worship God?" This acceptance of these two religions is indeed strange mainly because of the very strong and outspoken opposition to peyote usually expressed by all Christian ministers. There have been many published reports in the missionary literature condemning the use of peyote. Unsubstantiated accusations that peyote is harmful and other attacks on the cult are widely circulated. Most Christian leaders can not imagine one of their active members participating in a ritual where, so they say, dangerous drugs are used to gain narcotic addicts. Joe had heard of the attacks against peyotism. He knew all the arguments and the slanders used to keep Indians from attending a peyote meeting. He said simply: "The missionaries haven't been to peyote meetings and they haven't eaten peyote and they don't know anything about it." He was very tolerant of their ignorance, so tolerant in fact that he didn't think it worth the trouble to enlighten them and he saw nothing to be gained by informing any minister of his participation in the hated Native American Church. If any other Indian revealed to the Christian authorities that Joe believed in peyotism, no one seems to have accepted the report as true. Probably no Indian wanted to cause Joe Green any embarassment by notifying the ministers that he regularly went to the despised peyote meeting.

Joe's Triple Life

JOE'S third religion served to help him do as he wished. All Northern Paiutes knew that the power of a *pohari* might be used for both good and evil. Medicine men cured by singing, going into a trance and then removing foreign objects from the patient's body by sucking, or returning the patient's errant soul. The power to cure could also be the power to kill. A successful medicine man might turn his talents to punishing anyone who irritated him, so they said.

Thus Joe Green continued as deacon of the Episcopal Mission at Pyramid Lake and seldom failed to act as usher for the Sunday evening services. Even when he had spent all Saturday night at a peyote meeting he could reach home and take a little nap before the bell attracted him and the dozen other loyal converts to the little wooden church.

The ministers were either ignorant of the fact that Joe had been a shaman or thought his conversion to Christianity destroyed his shamanistic powers and left him an ordinary Indian. This blindness or belief persisted despite the fact that it was shamanizing which periodically interfered with

his Protestant Church duties. All of the Indians seemed to believe Joe was a powerful *pohari* and all seemed inclined to ignore the fact that he was also a deacon of the Mission Church. To both Washoes and Northern Paiutes Joe Green was first and foremost an Indian medicine man; so that his participation in peyotism and Christianity seemed hardly worthy of mention. The Christian Indians thought of him as a *pohari* who was also an Episcopalian. The members of the Native American Church talked of him as a *pohari* who was also a peyotist. But Joe accepted all three religions as equally good and helpful.

During several long conversations Joe revealed to me his real understanding of some of the theological differences between the three types of religion he practiced. He liked the Christian Missionaries personally and wanted to help them. He enjoyed his position of trust and importance in the Sunday evening services and on special occasions like the conference referred to above. And anyway maybe the Christian God and Jesus might help him. Furthermore he liked the hymns.

Sensing my special interest in peyotism Joe was very enthusiastic about the spiritual and medicinal rewards obtainable from participating in the all-night peyote ritual. We seemed like old trusted friends soon after I showed my feathers and rattle used in the peyote ceremony. After practicing a few peyote hymns together and exchanging songs it was as if we were brothers. Joe Green liked the visions and songs of peyotism and testified to its great curative properties.

Preserving Unspoiled Power

INASMUCH as Joe praised peyote as a medicine, I presumed that the peyote ritual might have replaced his own ceremonial cure. Not so, said Joe, and then in a very thorough manner explained that he remained a *pohari* and that his familiar spirit guides had declared the inflexible rule that he must go when called to help the sick. He admitted that the white doctors, American hospitals, and peyote cures were drastically reducing his clientele. This seemed not to bother Joe at all for he accepted his professional status as shaman entirely as a special divine gift to aid his fellow men. He had to respond if asked, otherwise his spiritual helpers would be unhappy. They had warned him that any denial of his special gifts and any refusal to do his best after an offer of the adequate down payment would "spoil his power." "Spoiled power" could make a *pohari* ill and might cause his death. Joe Green was always ready, day or night, to take his feathers

and other shamanistic equipment to go and call forth spirit helpers in the service of his fellow men.

But Joe Green seemed completely objective about the relationship of his own methods and the cures obtained by white man's medicine or by different Indian ways. He seemed interested in results only. Although ready and willing to diagnose and treat illness by his shamanistic ceremony, he understood that the Indians didn't need him as much as formerly and explained this as a result of changing times and changing diseases which white medicine could cure.

Before suggesting the broader implications which can be based on the case of Northern Paiute Indian Joe Green, some other examples of natives readily accepting new and different religions might be mentioned. The first comes from a group related to the Paiute by speech although geographically separated by a thousand miles. In 1953 a Ute shaman in southwestern Colorado allowed me to watch him suck out witch sickness that had been "shot" into a Navaho. The Navaho Indian had tried the usual chants, sings and sand painting rituals of his own people without relief. He had traveled 200 rough miles to get aid from what were formerly enemy gods. The Ute sucking doctor had many Navaho and Ute patients who came for his shamanistic treatment. It did not seem strange to his clients that the illness, in the form of a small rock crystal when exhibited, had passed from the patient into the shaman's mouth through the top of his head. Of course, no marks on medicine man or patient indicated where the illness had passed from patient to doctor.

Disgusted Missionary

I WAS a bit taken aback when Walter Lopez, the Ute shaman, interrupted his curing ritual to explain to me that peyotism was an excellent religion, that peyote cured many Indians, that he had been a member of the Native American Church for over twenty years and that he even took some shamanistic patients into peyote meetings to double the efficacy of his sucking cure. The younger Ute, Herbert Stacher, who served as interpreter for Walter Lopez and himself a well known leader of the peyote cult, admitted to me that he was also becoming a sucking shaman as his father had been. Furthermore, he said he had asked for and paid the considerable cost of a Navaho chant for himself just a few years before. Finally, Herbert related that the Colorado Ute peyotists had approached the local Christian Missionary with the proposition that the peyotists and Christians join forces and worship in the same building. The peyote

ritual, starting at sundown Saturday night, would end Sunday morning at the time the minister usually started his service. All the peyotists would stay right there and take communion in the white man's way. The Indians could understand neither the disgust shown nor the refusal—"Don't we both pray to Jesus?"

I believe that only the strictest monotheists are completely repelled by the idea of accumulating religions. People who believe in many spiritual beings are not opposed to accepting new ones. Polytheists have trouble understanding why they should discard all their old gods and spirits upon accepting new ones. The difficulty is multiplied when the new religion has a trinity for God and addresses prayers to various saints. Such a religion, however, might be able to accommodate any number of local divinities, slightly disguised, and thus be more acceptable to the natives.

Accepting New Gods

WHATEVER the basic psychological explanations may be, we have innumerable historical accounts which consistently reveal that aborigines around the world were, as a rule, receptive to new religions when first presented with them. Christian Missionaries were welcomed almost without exception when they first presented their ideas of a great God of love and charity. Missionary troubles started when local gods and spirits were belittled, criticized and denied.

There appears to be validity in the conclusion that aborigines can and do frequently accept new gods and spirits and even new religions to add to those they have already. There is nothing in this process which is inconsistent or improper for one used to believing in many gods or spirits with various attributes, powers and functions. Joe Green, shaman, peyotist, and Christian, was a living testimony to this religious harmony.

PSYCHOTHERAPY OF THE NAVAHO

Leland C. Wyman

AS we entered the hogan the sun outlined the square form of the smokehole in a brilliant patch in the center of the picture on the floor. The dry painting was made in the soft colors of the desert sandstone and the first figure that caught the eye was a great coiled snake, blue-gray with spots of dull yellow. When it was time for the patient to sit upon the painting, she could not move, for she was groaning with pain, apparently unable to move herself, so four men gently lifted her and placed her on the picture. On the following day we came again to see the sandpainting, this time of buffalos. The patient seemed better, for today she was not groaning. On the third day she was smiling and talked briefly with one of the men, and on the fourth day she rose herself, somewhat unsteadily to be sure, and walked to seat herself on the sacred picture.

What was happening? Why this seemingly miraculous recovery? What mysterious force was hovering around these beautiful designs of sand and charcoal? Perhaps it was the same force which makes for freedom from anxiety in our own culture, when the trusted

Hereward Carrington's Latest Work

THE AMERICAN SEANCES WITH EUSAPIA PALLADINO

In this volume, a veteran psychic researcher deals with the contradictions in the performance of a highly controversial personality.

The London magazine *Prediction* observes:

"Eusapia Palladino was one of the world's greatest sensitives. Though she often resorted to trickery, Mr. Carrington, in summarizing says that he believes her seances were 'genuine physical phenomena of an extraordinary character.'"

$3.75 at your bookseller,

or direct from Garrett Publications, 500 Fifth Avenue, New York 36, N. Y.

family physician takes over and says "stop worrying"—psychotherapy! But the procedure was different for these were Navaho Indians.

The Navaho Indians of the southwestern United States constitute the largest remaining group of native Americans within our national boundaries. They occupy a reservation of some fifteen million acres which is mostly in northeastern Arizona and northwestern New Mexico. Basically they are farmers and sheep herders, and their homes are scattered over their vast semi-desert territory in little family groups. They have no native towns and their houses or hogans (this anglicized name for the Navaho house is commonly used in the Southwest) are roughly circular or hexagonal structures of logs or stone, chinked with mud, with a central opening in the roof for a smokehole. Horses are important to them, as a prestige symbol as well as a means of transportation. The women are weavers and many men are silversmiths; and their blankets, rugs, and silver jewelry set with turquoise have made them known to the whole United States.

Do Ceremonials Cure?

PROBLEMS of health are problems of religion to the Navaho. Their techniques for making life tolerable in a bewildering and dangerous world are focused on the curing of illness. As in any system for dealing with those aspects of experience which are not subject to rational means of control, other values are consciously or unconsciously sought: ceremonial cleanliness, economic security, general harmony and good luck, social cohesiveness, social pleasure and prestige. The restoration and maintenance of health stands first, however, in any Navaho listing, and nearly every religious ceremonial is held to cure an individual human patient. When Navaho religion is described to a white audience, one question is certain to be asked, "Do the ceremonials ever cure? Is that hocus-pocus of any real use?"

The answer is "Yes," for the Navaho ceremonial system is a potent means of psychotherapy.

It is doubtful if the measures scattered throughout the ceremonial, which would be actually therapeutic when used rationally, produce any beneficial physical effects except fortuitously. Herbal medicines, emesis, sweat baths, massage, and inhalations doubtless do contribute to physical well being at times. The ceremonial, however, is directed toward the supposed cause rather than the symptoms, and a sweat bath may or may not be good for the particular patient. As with all of us, however, many of their ills are doubtless psychosomatic in origin and their own theory of disease attributes it to unsatisfactory relations with the supernatural, which might be considered another way of stating the interdependence of mind and body.

There is no doubt that insecurity, fear and worry breed disease. During the "Battle of Britain" the incidence of perforated peptic ulcer in sixteen London hospitals increased from a monthly average of twenty-five cases for a period of four years before the blitz to an average of sixty-four for the first two months of most serious air raids.

There are many sources of insecurity for the Navaho. There is much actual disease, especially tuberculosis. Their colorful, highly eroded plateau country is beautiful to look at but provides a meager hard-won living. The Navaho youngster soon learns the truth of their basic philosphical tenets, that the universe is an all-inclusive unity containing both good and evil and hence is a dangerous place; that disturbance of the normal order, harmony, or balance of elements in the universe results in evil and danger; and that restoration of harmony and control of danger requires knowledge of means.

Harassed by Fears

THE Navahos' economic problems are staggering. When they were returned from the three year capitivity at Fort Sumner, New Mexico, in 1868, there were only 15,000 of them, perhaps less. Today they number around 80,000 and they are increasing at the rate of about two per cent a year. Although they have overflowed the boundaries of their legal reservation in Arizona and New Mexico so that more than eighteen million acres are now in their hands, it is not enough. The same land was once hardly sufficient when they numbered only 40,000. Attempts to relieve the situation are being sought in off-reservation wage work, small home industries such as the saw mill and tile factory, as well as colonization on another

reservation (Colorado River Reservation).

In addition to worrying about making a living, actual disease, bad dreams, and violation of various tabus, the Navaho is harrassed by fears stemming from two other sets of institutionalized beliefs, the belief in ghosts and acceptance of witchcraft.

Since good and evil are complementary components of the Navaho universe, every human being, no matter how good he is in life, has an evil portion which becomes a dangerous ghost after death. Disease may result from unwitting contact with the ghost during careless or improper behavior with regard to death, the dead, or burials, recent or ancient. Witches, on the other hand, are living humans who malevolently misuse certain types of ritual knowledge, bringing misfortune and disease to the victims of their "black magic."

The late Walter B. Cannon, professor of physiology at the Harvard Medical School, was renowned for his studies of the effects of emotion on the bodily systems. He stated that it might be possible to "witch" a person into illness or even death. This he explained as due to shocking emotional stress. ("Voodoo Death," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 44, 1942). Every anthropologist who has spent much time with the Navaho can cite more than one instance of apparent organic disabilities, even such things as sore eyes or disturbances of vision, which disappeared, almost miraculously, when the fear of witchcraft was past.

Oral Traditions

THE Navaho is a likely subject, then, for the psychiatric benefits of his medico-religious system. This system is a vast mosaic of intellectualism and mysticism, of thought, belief, and ritual practice, permeated with colorful symbolism of direction, color, sex, number, and sound expressed in words, in behavior, or in material paraphernalia. This complex is enshrined and sanctioned in a large body of mythology, and is transmitted orally from practitioner to apprentice. There once were about twenty-six distinct ceremonial patterns, which could be elaborated by performances according to male, female or other branches, or conducted according to several rituals. These enabled the people to establish satisfactory relations with the host of personalized powers, the "Holy People" of the Navaho pantheon. They are conceived as beings something like humans or capable of assuming human form at will.

Each ceremonial had special relations with certain groups of these supernatural beings, although some Holy People were concerned with all of them. About nine of these

ceremonials are now extinct or obsolescent and of the remainder only about ten are commonly performed. Mastery of a single ceremonial, however, is comparable to learning letter perfect, by oral instruction only, all the songs of a full-length opera, all the details of stage management and property control, a set of prescribed designs for illustrating the play, and the history of it to boot. Much, therefore has been preserved and it is obvious that a single practitioner has to specialize in a few ceremonials. The largest number of complete chants that one individual is likely to know is six or seven, although he may be able to perform as many as twelve parts of several others.

The Navaho medico-religious practitioner, the doctor-priest, is called a "singer", because the singing is all important in most ceremonials, and the words and music of hundreds of songs full of archaic words or nonsense syllables must be learned perfectly and sung in sequences governed by precise rules. There are also long prayers which must be learned exactly. Each singer learns his trade and performs as an individual. The Navaho have nothing comparable to the organized priesthoods and religious societies of their sedentary neighbors, the Pueblo Indians. Ceremonials are carried out whenever they are needed without any relation to a set religious calendar. Furthermore, the Navaho have no permanent edifices like the kivas or ceremonial chambers of the Pueblos, but each chant is conducted in an ordinary hogan, usually that of the patient's family.

Selecting the Ceremonial

WHEN a Navaho is troubled by illness, bad dreams, recollection of violation of some restriction, fear of witchcraft, or some other indication that he requires ceremonial aid, he discusses it with his family. Sometimes the probable cause is brought out in the family conference where the proper ceremonial and its singer are chosen. More often a diagnostician is employed. He is a specialist in some form of divination who may or may not be a singer as well. Although women seldom become singers, they often practice divination. This practice is the only thing in Navaho culture which approaches the shamanistic tradition of more northerly Indian tribes. The singer acquires his knowledge solely through learning, for which he has to pay. Although in using that knowledge he identifies himself and secondarily the patient with supernatural beings, he makes no claims to permanent possession of supernatural power. He is merely enabled to act like like a Holy Person and to convey to the patient through his body the powers represented in the ceremonial.

The diagnostician, on the other hand, receives his power suddenly, "like a gift," or is born with his "gift" which may be revealed supernaturally at a ceremonial later in life. The diviner may be employed to find lost or stolen articles, to locate water, or to detect witches, as well as to diagnose illness and recommend treatment.

Two older techniques of divination, star-gazing and listening, which depended upon the interpretation of things seen or heard, are no longer common. In hand-trembling, the usual method used today, involuntary motions made by the hand and arm while the diviner is in a trance-like state are interpreted. Thus the cause of the disease, the proper ceremonial to cure it, and often the practitioner to select, are discovered.

A relative of the patient now goes to the home of the selected singer and makes an offer on behalf of the person who is to be the sponsor of the ceremonial. Plans for the performance are talked over and instructions are given. Usually the singer agrees to come in four days and the intermediary returns home, bringing the singer's bundle of ceremonial equipment.

Ceremonials differ in length, procedure, content, and innumerable details according to their kind, purpose, and ritual governing the specific performance. An emergency performance or a trial excerpt may last only a few hours, but a complete ceremonial lasts two nights or five nights, and some may be prolonged to nine nights in the winter (Navahos count time by nights rather than by days as we do). Although the system of chants appears to be stupendously complex, each one is a framework into which may be fitted ten or a dozen more or less separate parts of performance, each fulfilling a single function, which ethnologists have called "ceremonies" (as distinct from "ceremonial" which refers to a complex of ceremonies forming the whole performance). The same type of ceremonies are used in different chants, with modifications according to the specific symbolism of the chant being given. Much of the equipment is common to all, or most, chants, but some is specific for one or a small group.

Songs, Symbols, and Suds

CERTAIN procedures occur throughout all ceremonies. Most important to the Navaho is the singing, usually accompanied by a rattle, led by the singer but joined by all who know how. Singing accompanies nearly every act, for according to Navaho theories, procedure without song would be ineffective. Herbal medicines are prepared and administered, a "bullroarer" is whirled to intimidate evil, paraphernalia is laid out

to form an altar, prayers are said, pieces of the singer's equipment are applied to the patient's body. Most ceremonies are closed by fumigation, inhaling fumes from a concoction sprinkled on glowing coals. Following each ceremony, materials and objects which have served their purpose are ritually disposed of in prescribed places, at some distance outside the hogan.

After several days of preparation in which the patient's family has been busy gathering materials, clearing the family hogan of its contents, and preparing food for the expected guests, the singer arrives and opens the ceremonial at sundown the first evening by consecrating the hogan. Cornmeal and sprigs of scrub oak are placed on or above the four roofbeams in the cardinal directions. After sundown and on each of the three succeeding evenings there is an unraveling ceremony lasting about an hour. In this, bundles of herbs and feathers tied with a wool string so that when its end is pulled it will unravel and come free, are applied to the patient's body and unraveled to symbolize release from harm and evil. A short-singing, sometimes accompanied by beating an inverted basket as a drum, then follows for an hour or so.

If a sandpainting is to be made the next day, singer and patient must be up before dawn to perform a setting-out ceremony. Symbolic objects called bundle prayersticks are stuck upright in a small mound of earth outside the hogan just in front of the door. These notify approaching human and supernatural beings alike of the ceremony within the hogan.

Just after dawn on each of the first four mornings, a secret emetic ceremony, lasting an hour or two, provides internal and external purification. An enormous fire is built in the central fireplace to induce intensive sweating and an emetic decoction of herbs is prepared. The patient and others who wish, drink this and vomit into a basin of sand while all participants bathe in the warm emetic mixture.

After breakfast on the first four days, invocatory offerings are made to summon the Holy People. "Jewel" offerings, painted reeds stuffed with tobacco ("cigarettes"), and small painted wooden prayersticks, are prepared and held by the patient while a long litany is said. A trusted helper then deposits them at some distance from the hogan in prescribed places, so the Holy People will find them.

In the morning of the fourth day, a bath ceremony provides the patient with further purification. A mound of suds is whipped up in a basket with water and a piece of root of the yucca plant, and amid song and ritual acts the patient shampoos his hair and bathes.

Breathe in the Dawn

AFTER lunch the sandpainting ceremony is begun. On the last day only, the patient's body is painted with symbolic designs, and a bead token which becomes his property and a head plume are tied in his hair. He then sits on the sandpainting while the singer applies sand from parts of the figures in the design to corresponding parts of his body. Thus the patient is identified with the supernatural beings represented in the painting, and like them becomes strong and immune to further harm. Finally the patient leaves the hogan, the sandpainting is erased, and the sand is carried outside for ritual disposal.

The fifth and final night is occupied by an all night singing, continuous from sundown until the following dawn. Large numbers of visitors attend the ceremonies of the last day and night, sometimes a hundred or more. The great nine night chants of the winter, with their special dances and public exhibitions of the final night may attract a thousand or more spectators. When the dawn breaks on the last morning, the patient goes outside to face the east and "breathe in" the dawn, and the singer closes the ceremonial with a last prayer and song.

The whole theme of the ceremonial and numerous aspects of the manner of conducting it, powerfully convey the suggestion of health and strength. This suggestion begins its work on the patient at the first family conference or diagnostic performance, and builds up to the climax of the final night when relatives, friends, neighbors, and even strangers from distant points, gather to add their voices to the songs for his recovery. The singer, speaking with prestige and authority, assures the patient that the "sing" will cure him. In the intervals between ceremonies, all conversation must be about pleasant and fortunate things. The songs themselves reiterate the process of care. Everyone is doing something about his misfortune. The whole family and often nonrelatives are spending their energy, time, and money, to aid in his recovery. The singer works for many hours, while a throng of people stay awake all night for his benefit. This all contributes to the powerful psychological effect.

The suggestive psychotherapy of a Navaho ceremonial not only relieves the patient of psychosomatic ills and enables him to bear organic troubles with more fortitude, but it extends as well to all the participants. The ceremonial sanctions, codifies, and reaffirms the basic tenets of their faith and helps them to present a united front to a bewildering and unstable world.

PLAINS INDIAN WAR MEDICINE

John C. Ewers

WHITE THUNDER, an aged Cheyenne medicine man, stood on the plain calmly facing a large and awe-inspiring force of his Pawnee enemies moving toward him from the distant horizon. White Thunder was not alone. Behind him were the assembled host, the entire war strength of his own people—the fighting Cheyenne. Among them were many seasoned veterans of intertribal wars eager for revenge upon their old enemies the Pawnee. There were also young men spoiling for an opportunity to "get their names up" by outwitting an enemy, any enemy.

Slowly and deliberately White Thunder knelt beside a little bundle of arrows, untied a small buckskin bag bound to the arrows, and removed a piece of root from this sacred parcel. He placed the root in his mouth and chewed it. Then he held out the arrows toward each of the four cardinal directions at the same time blowing some of the chewed root in each direction. Next he pointed the arrows toward the advancing Pawnee and blew toward them—an action intended to blind the enemy. Thrusting his arrows toward the foe, White Thunder danced and sang,

"There you lie helpless
Easily to be annihilated."

He then tied the medicine arrows to the lance of a young brave who had vowed to carry them as leader of the Cheyenne charge.

But it was too late. Some of the restless young Cheyenne warriors couldn't wait for old White Thunder to complete the tribe's traditional ceremony to insure success in war. His ritual was too long. They were too impatient for action. So they charged headlong into a battle that proved disastrous to their cause. The Cheyenne suffered their most humiliating defeat, made doubly bitter by the capture of their sacred medicine arrows by the hated Pawnee.

The Arrows' Meaning

WHAT were those Cheyenne medicine arrows? They were the most sacred of Cheyenne tribal possessions in buffalo days. According to tradition the medicine arrows were given to their ancestors by powerful supernatural beings in the dateless past. The arrows were believed to possess powers to bring health and long life to the people; to protect them and insure victory over their enemies.

Four in number, the Cheyenne medicine arrows closely resembled stone-tipped hunting and war arrows in form. Two of them had red stone points, red-painted shafts and feathers of the gray eagle. These "buffalo arrows" represented food. The other two arrows were composed of black points, black-daubed shafts and war eagle feathers. These "man arrows" represented war. All four arrows were kept together. The position of keeper of the medicine arrows was a sacred office which was handed down in the family of White Thunder for generations after his death in 1838.

The medicine arrows were for men only. Women were not permitted to look at them. One of the most solemn of Cheyenne ceremonies was that of renewing the medicine arrows. Then, before the assembled men of the tribe, their most skillful arrow-makers carefully removed the stone heads and rebound them to their wooden shafts with fresh sinew. They also replaced the feathering of all the arrows. This ritual was observed at irregular intervals, at times of crisis in tribal life. A warrior engaged in a life-or-death struggle with a powerful enemy might vow to renew the arrows if he survived his ordeal. If a number of Cheyenne were killed in battle, or if a Cheyenne was killed in a scrape with a fellow tribesman, the men of the tribe gathered to renew the medicine arrows. In so doing they were reaffirming their faith in the power of the medicine to maintain tribal solidarity and to bring success in war.

Even loss of the sacred medicine arrows to the Pawnee couldn't shake Cheyenne belief in their power. They remade the captured arrows and continued to carry them to war on those rare occasions

hen the entire company of able-odied men of the tribe marched gainst an enemy. There can be ttle doubt but that the Cheyenne ledicine arrows were the most fa-ious *tribal* war medicine known to ie historic Plains Indians. Yet, aradoxical as it may seem, of the alf-dozen recorded times these ledicine arrows were carried into attle, only two were followed by heyenne victories. As it happened the fight with the Pawnee de-ribed above, impatient young arriors generally couldn't wait ntil the arrow-keeper completed is time-consuming rite. Cheyenne ders explained that this hasty ac-on by young men nullified the upernatural aid that the medicine rrows might have bestowed upon ie tribe. Impulsive youth wouldn't t the age-old medicine arrows itiate action against the enemy. herefore, the medicine arrows ould not share the blame.

rdeal and Dream

AMONG the Cheyenne as among such other tribes of ie Great Plains as the Sioux, lackfoot and Comanche, tribes re-owned for their warlike qualities, ie most common war medicines ere not *tribal* but *personal* ones. Many young men actively sought upernatural power by going out one to some quiet place to com-une with the spirits. The usual rocedure was for the youth to remain alone on some isolated butte or hill top, beside a lake or in some other rarely frequented spot, singing and calling upon all the powers of sky, earth and water to hear him and have pity upon him. He stayed there, without food or drink, possibly for several days and nights, until an animal, bird or natural phenomenon (such as thunder) appeared, expressed pity and the desire to help him by giving him "some of his power." The spirit presented the youth with specific songs, face painting designs, and objects sacred to it. It conveyed very detailed instructions how to prepare, care for and use these sacred gifts in order to bring the man success and to protect him from harm.

Nevertheless, many young men sought visions in vain. Of more than a dozen Blackfoot veterans of intertribal warfare whom I knew, only one claimed to have employed a war medicine which he acquired in his own dream. As a young man in his middle teens Weasel Tail dreamed of a wolf "who" presented him with a wolf cap and a wolf robe and a song with the words, "I am a wolf. I am going to eat a person." He won recognition among his people as an active, daring warrior, and a successful horse raider. Weasel Tail said he always wore his wolf-skin cap and robe and sang this song before he went into action.

Henry Kelsey, a Hudson Bay Company employee, was the first white man known to have visited Indians on the Canadian Plains. There he met the Cree and Assiniboin in 1691. His account of that visit includes the earliest mention of the feathered war bonnet and its use. Kelsey observed that it was "put to use when their enemies are in sight believing that it will save them from being killed. It being not the work of their own hands but of their father or some other old man near kin to them. This thing is called by their name Wessguaniconan which in time of use is accompanied with songs made by the same man who made the other." This is a very brief but sure description of a war medicine. It is interesting to note that even before 1700 some young warriors of the Great Plains were content to acquire their war medicines from their elders rather than to seek them on their own in the lonely ordeal of the vision quest.

Instructing the Young

DURING the youth of my elderly Blackfoot friends it was common for a young man to go to an older man and ask for some of his power before embarking on his first war party. Usually, but not always, the older man was a relative of the younger one. The request was preceded by the offering of a pipe and gifts. Usually the young man also made a sweat bath for the older one. Some Blackfoot elders were called upon frequently for assistance either because they had been very successful as warriors or because younger men who had obtained their help had met with marked success on the warpath. The Piegan elders On-Lucky-Trail and Under Bull were two such men. The former was also reputed to have the power to tell young men the locations of fine horses owned by enemy tribes. The latter possessed the Arapaho medicine pipe bundle. Feathers from that bundle brought success to many young raiders, among them White Quiver, the most active and uniformly successful horse raider in tribal history. The elder man prayed for the young petitioner and gave him both a war song and a sacred object to carry on his expedition. It was common for the older man to continue to pray for the younger one while he was gone. And it was usual for the recipient of a war medicine to give the donor one or more horses after returning safely from a profitable raid.

Some young men were eclectic in assembling their war medicines, obtaining sacred objects from two or more older men in whose powers they had great faith. One of those believers in multiple protection was Lazy Boy, who died in 1948, at 97 years. He obtained an owl feather from Chief Three Sun

hich was reputed to have power o protect him from gun fire; a oyote skin from Tail Feathers "A coyote sees a long way and ever misses what he goes after"), nd sacred paints from both Onucky-Trail and Red Eagle.

Theoretically there were no limations upon the types of objects hat might be carried by warriors or use as war medicines. Certain hields, lances, knives, bandoliers, hirts and headgear were war medcines. Yet my analysis of nearly fty articles carried by Blackfoot orse raiders as protective and ood luck devices revealed that he great majority of them tended o follow a definite pattern. They ere simply a feather or a bunch f feathers tied in the hair. Unoubtedly the lightness and comactness of feathers made them ractical objects to carry on journeys afoot into enemy country.

ses of War Medicine

MEDICINE songs were intended to protect their possessors om enemy camps. Each of three ngs employed by the Piegan arrior, Bear Chief, served a disnct purpose. One known as "the ng of the horse-stealing" was ally a prayer to the sun: "Sun, ok at us, have pity on us, help ." Another, sung while in sight the enemy camp, was intended pacify the enemies' dogs, to revent them from barking and alarming their sleeping masters when Bear Chief's party entered the camp, and cut loose the picketed horses, and led them quietly away. This song had the words, "In the night I am not seen, the dogs are my partners." A third song, rendered when the sound of enemy gunfire was heard, stated, "The guns can see me. I can see the bullets. They are like birds. They curve."

Rides-at-the-Door, a veteran of nearly a score of Piegan horse raids, explained the use of his own war medicine:

"When I went to the enemy to take horses I carried my war medicine in a small, cylindrical rawhide case. This medicine could never be put down. In a lodge it always had to be hung up. When my party got near the enemy camp, I made a little fire, took charcoal and sweetgrass and made a smudge. I sang the song given me with my medicine and prayed before donning my medicine plume. In my prayers I asked Sun for horses, to get away safely and not to have to go home on foot. Sometimes I prayed to the sun, 'See me. The rain is holy and the wind is holy.' Then it was bound to blow, and the sleeping enemy wouldn't hear us when we went into their camp and took their horses."

Brings-Down-the-Sun, famous North Piegan chief, is reputed to

have possessed a war medicine which could change the weather in his favor also. It was a necklace consisting of a brass piece in the shape of a moon with the figure of a horse incised on one side and pendant plumes from the crescent ends. Before going into the enemy camp he sprinkled water on this necklace and prayed. "In a short time," so the native testimony goes, "clouds would cover the moon, making it easier to take horses from the enemy."

Sometimes an inexperienced young man, doubtful of the potency of his own war medicine, had to "call a help" on an older man of his war party just prior to going into action. The experienced man would give him a feather from his own hair or some other token of his own medicine power. A fearful young warrior might make a vow before the other men of his party to feast the owner of some powerful medicine bundle on his return home, should he pull through safely. Vows to undergo self-torture at the next tribal Sun Dance sometimes were made under similar circumstances.

Unshaking Faith

ALL Plains Indian warriors were volunteers. In dreams any member of an outgoing party might be warned of impending disaster for himself or the entire party. When he told his fears to the others some or all of them might turn back. There was no stigma attached to desertion of a raiding party as a result of supernatural warnings. Indeed, should some men persist in the enterprise and fail to capture horses or should the life of a member be lost in a skirmish with the enemy, the medicine of him who was forewarned and turned back was regarded as very powerful by his tribesmen.

The old-time Blackfoot believed that reliance upon the protective power of war medicines was no justification for reckless exposure in battle. Lazy Boy cited the case of Calf Shield, who had obtained his power from Big Lake, a noted Piegan chief. On their way to take horses from the Sioux, Calf Shield's entire party of eight men was wiped out. Even though none of their warriors survived to tell the story of that action, the Piegan quite generally believed the party must have taken too great chances.

Lazy Boy explained, "It wasn't the fault of the medicine or its giver if the user took too great a risk." So repeated losses of possessors of renowned war medicines in combat failed to shake Blackfoot faith in the power of these medicines. There were always many brave men in their camps able and willing to testify to the potency of their medicines in preserving them from almost certain death on the warpath.

DREAMS OF A PLAINS INDIAN

Book Review by Nandor Fodor

EALITY AND DREAM. By George Devereux. International Universities Press, New York, 1951, pp. 425. Bibliography. Index. $7.50.

TO make the American Indian a being "no less worthy of scitific study that natives of Afanistan or the denizens of Upper ark Avenue" was one of the intives that prompted George evereux to study a Plains Inan with the equipment afforded scientific anthropology, psychiry and psychoanalysis.

In a preface contributed by Dr. arl A. Menninger we read that ery conscientious American feels guilty about the Red Indian, and that Dr. Devereux seems to have translated this guilt into such an earnest and friendly interest that he has succeeded in overcoming the skepticism and distrust of the Indian patient that previously prevented the completion of similar therapeutic studies.

Indeed, even a superficial perusal of this fascinating monograph impresses the reader with the feeling of a noteworthy accomplishment both from the viewpoint of anthropology and of psychoanalysis. While "Jimmy Picard," born thirty years ago on the anniversary of the day on which his home state was admitted to the

Union, was sufficiently "Americanized" to lose an intimate knowledge of his people's ancient ways, Dr. Devereux proceeded on the assumption that the ethos of the aboriginal ancestors was still an active force in this ex-G.I.'s unconscious, and that his responses and dream imagery could only be properly appreciated if full allowance were to be given to his cultural strangeness and to his differences in personality structure.

The Guardian Spirit

ACTUALLY, this therapeutic undertaking was a research project that aimed at developing special technical procedures for rehabilitating veterans who were not full-fledged members of Western civilization, and at finding a way to a "trans-cultural" psychotherapy that would be equally applicable to the therapist's own cultural group and to alien or marginal persons. In terms of usual Western criteria, Jimmy Picard was either psychotic or an X: a problem that his Indian personality presented. Dr. Devereux concurred: he was grossly abnormal by Western standards but he was so typically a Plains Indian that there was a chance for complete rehabilitation if the dynamics of his "psychosis" could be correlated with the culture of his tribe.

In order to achieve such a correlation, Devereux looked for evidence that a conflict existed in the patient's unconscious between the ancestral and present-day, vestigial Wolf Culture, and that this conflict was aggravated by the clash with the marginal segments of American culture.

The finding of this evidence was of great anthropological value. To make it therapeutically effective a stern principle had to be adopted: in order that this Wolf patient should maintain a continuity of his self-ness, Dr. Devereux decided to accord to him an unquestioning recognition of his right to remain a Wolf Indian and a unique person with a traditional way of life that deserved respect. The patient was encouraged to accept as his ego ideal the pattern of old and sucessful Wolf warriors who used to channel their aggression primarily as peacemakers within their tribe. By doing so, the anthropologist-analyst became identified with the "guardian spirit" of the Indians who frequently instructed the young visionary to sidestep certain types of conflicts, and avoid giving battle under certain inauspicious circumstances.

The patient readily accepted this identification. By doing so, he placed no greater demand on the analyst than any Western patient would, because the guardian spirit of the Indians is not an infallible or omnipotent helper and, like the father whom he represents, can

ot be depended upon absolutely. owever, the way in which a ardian spirit is adopted in the ains society deserves notice.

Approximately at the age of berty, the Indian youth retires an isolated spot and "after a ritable orgy of exhibitionistic lf-torture and self-pity, calls upon pernatural beings to take pity him. He then usually has a sion in which a compassionate pernatural being adopts him, nd bestows 'medicine' (i.e. pow-) upon him. This 'blessing' pro-ides the youth with a great deal self-reliance, and makes him apable of displaying, ever after, reat courage and initiative in sit-ations of stress, without, however, together abandoning the attitude exhibitionistic self-pity."

This concept of the guardian irit was rather fortunate as it id not put Dr. Devereux in a le in which miracles would have en expected of him; it also romised that, after a successful trojection of this guardian spir-, the borrowed strength would come true personal strength, ereby bringing about an easy solution of that typical emotional uation between patient and ana-st which is called transference.

eams Are Real

ANOTHER unusual feature of the relationship between the ains Indian and his therapist was the typical Indian concept of the meaning and function of the dream. While for a white man a dream is a dream, and the manifest content we remember on awakening is just a cover for latent thought or symbolic meaning, Jimmy's dreams had to be treated as real incidents of actual behavior, for in Indian psychology dreams are events and not fantasies. An Indian feels responsible for his dream, hence he has an intense fear of bad dreams. The fact that Jimmy was a profuse dreamer conformed to the major trend of Wolf social life in which "the most self-confident, and hence the most successful men were those who had many dreams, especially unsolicited ones or, in other words, those who received constant supernatural guidance."

Because dreams are real, it is quite natural for a Plains Indian to ask such a question of the therapist: Where did you go after you disappeared from my dream?

To show Jimmy's gradual progress towards integration: In one of his dreams he noted with surprise that a formerly terrifying landscape was actually beautiful; in another dream he realized that the native magician was nothing more than a prestidigitator; in a third dream he carefully examined the medicinal bundles which he found in an old burial cave instead of standing in awe of them.

It also happened that the advice that was given by the therapist at an earlier stage was subsequently received from the dream mentor as if it had been tested and found sound after a period of incubation. This is the process of incorporation and identification which, according to Freudian claims, leads to the formation of the super-ego and of the ego ideal.

That the patient should assume an active role in his therapy was important because the objective of the therapy was to restore him to himself. To put it simply, Dr. Devereux's best bet was to return the patient to the Reservation.

Search for Stray Horses

WHEN he was finally discharged, he was—we are told—a typical Wolf Indian, a member of the Crazy Dog Society to which his family belonged. The Crazy Dogs were not crazy in Western terms. They were warriors who had pledged themselves to risk their lives in every battle and, until killed or relieved of their pledge, always did the opposite of what they were told to do and said the opposite of what they meant. This kind of craziness was equivalent, in the Indian mind, with being very unusual and endowed with magical power.

Of real magical powers that would be germane to a Red Indian's unconscious, the analysis failed to reveal any trace. The patient had an experience in France of the déjà vue, recognizing a place which he had never seen before. But he could not find lost objects in dreams. He explained:

"Suppose a man cannot find his horses and he is looking for them. He pays an old man, and he will go to sleep and dream; then he will tell you just where the horses are."

The therapist promptly explained:

"In a dream one lets one's mind roam. One puts two and two together, like in actual tracking. Maybe in a dream one figures out this way: what would I do if I were a stray band of horses? Those old Indians had a lot of sense, and more social wisdom than we Whites have."

The analysis thus seemed to dispose of the assumption that the unconscious of the primitive man is more psychic than that of the cultured man. The difference was not in quality but in practical application.

Free of Bundle and Altar

IT is very instructive to see the actual manner in which, in a dream, the patient showed his recovery from the influence of medicine magic. He dreamed that he was climbing high mountains with his brother and another man. Then: "They left me alone and

went ahead. I noticed in a cave me stuff and rags, and I went , to look over this place. The rst thing I noticed were these edicine bundles they have. They ere all piled up there. You know ow they are—cloth, hides, buck-in, all mixed up in there—I don't nderstand it myself. I noticed it as one of these old Indian raves. It was open. You know ow they used to put them in caves nd cliffs, and later on all flesh ecays and only bones are left. All hese medicine bundles were piled n there—all rotting. I took a stick nd kept punching around, but he others told me to hurry up. said I want to look first, I al-ays was told. . . . Another thing hat was there was part of an altar mong the rubbish. We were all old to believe that these things ere so holy, and to respect them. The old people have their medi-ine bundles in the back room, here they stay. They do not per-nit anyone to walk in front of it. They must go around it. I was not fraid. I went to look and to take part a few. These guys kept hol-ering at me: hurry. I said, wait, want to see what is in there. I ant to find out what is inside. thought, gee, you think—I was inking all wrong before this. Why didn't I know before? It will e one thing off my mind when I nished looking it over. Then I alked out."

In commenting on the dream, the patient stated:

"The bundles and the altar. I figure that it is not necessary to pay much attention to them. Like you explained, it is up to your own self to build courage, and not depend on others. If I can't do it, if I am afraid and wait to depend on something else—getting away from that is another load off your mind that worries you. After all, I figure that any of these churches—or I don't care what you call it—any preacher and such like, it is the same as the beaver (medicine) bundle. You depend on it to build up your courage, to do what you are afraid to try."

With the insight thus gained, the patient stopped being a prolific dreamer.

"I decided," he said, "that it was not necessary to dream if you go ahead and think it out while awake. If you depend on dreams, you lie down to dream every time. You can learn to do it yourself, without dreams—to depend on yourself."

Wisdom of the Great One

BY this time, the therapist felt the time was ripe to strengthen the patient's insight by a heroic story. He told him of Plenty-coup, a famous Crow Indian Chief, who received advice from the mythical Dwarf-Chief in a visionary experience.

"He will be a Chief, said the Dwarf-chief. I can give him nothing. He already possesses the power to become great if he will use it. Let him cultivate his senses, let him use the powers which Ah-badt-dadt-deah has given him, and he will go far. The difference between men grows out of the use, or non-use, of what was given them by Ah-badt-dadt-deah to begin with.

"Then he said to me: Plenty-coup, we, the Dwarfs, the Little-people, have adopted you and will be your Helpers throughout your life in this world. We have no medicine bundle to give you. They are cumbersome things at best and are often in a warrior's way. Instead, we offer advice. Listen!

"In you, as in all men, are natural powers. You have a will. Learn to use it. Make it work for you. Sharpen your senses as you sharpen your knife. Remember, the wolf smells better than you do because he has learned to depend on his nose. It tells him every secret that winds carry because he uses it all the time, makes it work for him. We can give you nothing. You already possess everything necessary to become great. Use your powers. Make them work for you, and you will become Chief.

"When I wakened, I was perspiring. Looking into the early morning sky that was growing light in the north, I went over it all in my mind. I saw and understood that whatever I accomplished must be by my own efforts, that I must myself do the things I wished to do. And I knew I could accomplish them if I used the powers that Ah-badt-dadt-deah had given me. I had a will and I would use it, make it work for me, as the Dwarf-chief had advised. I became very happy, lying there looking up into the sky. My heart began to sing like a bird, and I went back to the village, needing no man to tell me the meaning of my dream. I took a sweat-bath and rested in my father's lodge. I knew myself now."

Jimmy Picard listened to the reading of this story in raptures. It was no longer the White Man who was teaching him. It was a Great One of his own kind, and the teaching was the same, even more so as it had the stamp of tribal authority and demolished all that was barbaric and supernatural in Indian thinking. The burden that contact with the white man's civilization had laid upon him, fell off. White or Indian, he was a man, a whole man.

AMERICAN INDIAN MUSIC

Willard Rhodes

THE understanding and appreciation of the music of the American Indian has lagged far behind that of other Indian arts and crafts. The Indian's silverwork, textiles, pottery, basketry, painting and architecture have long fascinated the white man and won enthusiastic admiration for their simple artistry. These were objects which existed in space and could be studied and enjoyed visually. When the object was not available, its replica or reproduction or photograph provided the student with a reasonable likeness which he could examine and enjoy at leisure. This was not the case with music. It is only within the recent past that good phonograph recordings of authentic Indian music have been made available to the public. The phonographic recording of Indian music begun in 1889 with the Passamoquoddy Indians in Maine by Dr. Jesse Walter Fewkes, Chief of the Bureau of American Ethnology of the Smithsonian Institution, was assiduously continued by Dr. Frances Densmore, Collaborator of the Bureau of American Ethnology, and other collectors. But most of this material lay buried in archives, unknown to all but a few ethno-musicologists.

The fact that music exists only in time and disappears in the act of revelation or performance may tend to retard its appreciation, especially when the music is from a culture alien to the listener. It is

a commonplace to regard music as a universal language that transcends national and language barriers. This is true to a certain point but it is important to recognize that an infinite number and variety of dialects have developed within this universal art. Within the sphere of Western culture we distinguish national, regional and historical period styles in both art music and popular music. Similar distinction are to be made in American Indian music, where one encounters a perplexing variety of styles, some of which are tribal or regional; while others appear to derive from the functional character of the various song types.

The music lover, conditioned by Euro-American music culture with its emphasis on rich, colorful harmonies, highly developed, complex polyphony, and lush orchestration, is apt to be perplexed by the austere simplicity of American Indian music. This is a music predominantly vocal, rarely developed beyond a monophonic or unison stage, the accompaniment to which is provided by percussion instruments, drums, bells, gourd rattles, scraping sticks, etc. If the listener can free himself of his past musical experience and concepts and bring an open mind and ear to American Indian music he will be richly rewarded.

Not for Art's Sake

MUSIC for the Indian was not an art but a way of life. It functioned in his daily living as naturally as his other activities. In an animistic world in which all life was ordered in a unified cosmos, song became the natural medium of communication between man and the supernatural beings. The division of sacred and secular, so marked in our culture, did not exist for the Indian. All life was fraught with the mystery of the supernatural and the most menial daily tasks were ritually performed. There were songs to accompany the grinding of corn, songs to assure success in hunting, fishing, gambling and warfare, as well as those for love making and social entertainment. In addition to the songs which were individually owned and used for the acquisition of personal power, there were chants and songs of communal ceremonies dedicated to the welfare of the tribes. In the arid desert of the Southwest these ceremonies were primarily concerned with food and were directed toward the making of rain and the growth of crops.

In other geographic-culture areas communal ceremonies were oriented and shaped by the psycho-physical needs of the group. The Sun Dance of the Plains tribes, the Corn Dance of the Pueblos, the Snake Dance of the

Hopi, and the Mountain Chant of the Navaho, each had its body of songs which constituted the essential focus of the ritual. They served as a cohesive matrix to the multiple elements of the ceremonial complex. So accurately and completely is the culture of a people reflected in its music that Richard Waterman, professor of anthropology at Northwestern University, has been led to suggest that the ethnography of a preliterate society could be reported through its music.

To be fully understood and appreciated, Indian music should be heard in its cultural and environmental setting. It is a vitalizing, functioning segment of Indian life and any attempt to regard it from the esthetic point of view of *l'art pour l'art* will deprive the listener of those psychological overtones which are an essential part of the music. Ethno-musicologists have been guilty at times of becoming so deeply engrossed in the abstract musical analysis of their material that they have failed to see the sense behind the sound.

The Indians had no theory of music although some tribes, particularly the Nootka of Western Vancouver Island, had well developed vocabularies for distinguishing different kinds of singing, types of songs, musical instruments and their manipulation, drumming rhythms and other technical features. This failure to formulate and systematize the basic principles of musical composition may be explained in part by the attitude with which the Indian regards his music. Songs and chants are often an integral part of a larger ceremonial complex and their separation from the whole is foreign to the thinking of the Indian. Some old medicine men, true to the ethics of their profession, are unwilling to sing their songs except in the proper ceremonial setting. Anthropologists have often been obliged to create an occasion for a ceremony and bear the expenses in order to record esoteric material.

Seeds of Song

THE mythical origin of music removes it from the field of rationalization and analysis. On this subject Indians are quite articulate, each tribe or ethnic group offering its own explanation. Frank Hamilton Cushing's translation of the Zuni Creation Myth records the final instructions of Paí-ya-tuma, God of Dew and the Dawn, as follows:

> And now I will teach ye the customs and song of planting, . . . then first he sat him down and smoked the cigarette of relationship with the fathers of the Seed and Water kinties, and all night long until the dawn the songs sounded and

the sacred instructions of the seed (tá' a téusu haítosh nawe) sounded.

And in the gray mists of the morning Paí-ya-tu-ma was hidden—and is seen no more of men.

A Pima Indian song suggests the primordial character of music:

When the Earth was newly created
Then the first time came the songs.

Most of the songs and chants of the communal ceremonies have been received from the gods and culture heroes in the mythical past and have been perpetuated by oral tradition with a minimum of change. The priesthoods and medicine men who are the guardians of this esoteric lore have placed great value on its accurate and faultless repetition. The slightest error on the part of the "singer" (ceremonialist) not only invalidates the ceremony but may produce dire results. In a culture in which music was received by supernatural revelation and is charged with supernatural power there is no need for a theory to deal with the problems of musical organization and composition.

The emphasis placed on tradition tends to preclude the rapid development of new styles and forms. Dr. Curt Sachs, the distinguished musicologist, regards the melody of a song as a psycho-physical phenomenon and a culture element strongly resistant to change. Musical evidence from ethnic groups throughout the world seems to support this thesis. But it should not be pushed dogmatically to the extreme. As cultures change as a result of contact with other cultures, new musical styles evolve. But they can never be dissociated from their antecedents for they are bound by a strong psycho-physical thread that makes them part of a continuing culture.

Music Is Power

NOT all songs had their origin in the mythical past. The individual had direct access to the supernatural through the vision quest. At puberty a boy was sent off to the mountains or some remote place where he fasted in isolation while seeking a guardian spirit. If the quest was successful the suppliant was rewarded with a vision in which he was visited by a guardian spirit in the form of an animal or object. The guardian spirit gave the initiate ceremonial instruction, power insuring success in some particular activity such as hunting, gambling, or the curing of illness, and a song which was to be his exclusive property for life. These personal power songs provided a medium for more individual and varied expression than those of the communal cere-

monies. But since the songs were incidental to the acquisition of a guardian spirit, and were "received," not composed by the Quester, there was little originality in these songs. They generally followed the melodic style of the tribe and the slightest change of wording in the text was sufficient to identify a song as "new."

In writing about Indian music one is torn between the use of the present and past tense. The cultural state of Indians in the United States today varies so widely that it is impossible to make a valid general statement on this subject.

Blended Heritage

THE violent economic and social changes that the American Indian has suffered in passing from a Stone Age culture to an Atomic Age culture in the short span of a few generations has not destroyed his psyche. He has remained Indian and fiercely proud of his cultural heritage. Though new syncretic religions have displaced the old tribal ones, the Indian still affirms his relation to the supernatural and the universe in song. The old songs of his ancestors are giving way to new ones which are more representative of his current beliefs and spiritual life. Most of these nativistic religions developed during the second half of the nineteenth century, a period of crisis for the Indian in which his world was being invaded and destroyed by westward migration. The Ghost Dance religion which promised the disappearance of the white man, the return of the land to the Indian and the restoration of the old way of life, failed when the prophet-founder was unable to fulfill his prophecy.

The Peyote cult, on the other hand, has had a continuous and widespread diffusion since it was introduced from Mexico. Now chartered in some western states as the Native American Church, the cult has transcended language and tribal barriers and taken on the character of a pan-Indian religion.

On the Northwest Coast there developed in the 1880s the Indian Shaker religion. This syncretic religion, indigenous to the Indians of the Puget Sound country and having no relationship with Shakerism in the eastern United States, blends elements of the native guardian spirit religion with the symbolism, beliefs and practices of Christianity. The Shaker songs combine in a most ingenious manner many of the stylistic features of the guardian spirit songs with melodic and rhythmic motives of Protestant gospel hymns. There are two categories of songs, "work songs" for the healing of the sick, and "prayer songs" used for devotional purposes.

It is of interest to note that the Shaker songs like those of the guardian spirit religion are received in dreams. In response to my question about the origin of a song, an informant at Neah Bay, Washington, explained: "I dreamed it. And there was a woman that apparently was in good health, and I dreamed one night that I was on the top of an extreme high cliff. And it seemed to be miles down to the bottom, and she was just hanging on with her finger tips. And I knew something miraculous had to be done to save her from falling, so I started singing this song in my dream. And that's the only song I've ever received while I was in the Shaker Church. That is the only prayer song I received." The song was sung several times in the native language, then repeated in English translation, a fairly common practice with Shaker songs.

Undying Psyche

AMONG the Kiowa, a southern Plains tribe now living in western Oklahoma, the old pattern of dreaming songs has lived on in the Baptist mission church at Rainy Mountain. Supplementing the white hymns which have been translated into the native language by the missionaries, the Kiowa have developed a sizeable hymnology of original native hymns. Though the words of these hymns repeat time-worn phrases learned from the missionaries, the melodies are thoroughly Indian and traditional in style.

Contemporary music-making has not been limited to the field of religion. New social dance songs and love songs are constantly appearing among the younger generation. They delight in making songs in the Indian style with English words. The following is a typical text:

He ya
O we yo (3 times)
He ya
I don't care if you're married
sixteen times,
I will get you just the same.
Yo ho we ya he ya
Yo we yo (3 times)
He ya
You might know,
You might know
How I love you.
Yo we ya
He ya he ya.

The vitality of Indian music and its ability to adapt itself to changing times is impressive. Here is a living folk art in which the undying psyche of the Indian has been able to express his feelings, thoughts, hopes and fears. Let us hope that the government's efforts to educate the Indian and adjust him to modern society do not destroy that character and spirit which he has so vividly expressed in song.

MUSIC OF THE FLATHEAD INDIAN

Alan P. Merriam

HOME for the Flathead Indians was traditionally the mountain valleys of western Montana. A hunting, fishing and gathering people who had borrowed much of the culture of the Plains Indians including the horse and all the trappings that went with it, the Flathead still boast today that "we never shed a drop of white man's blood," and it is probable that they never did. No one is really sure how the English name, "Flathead," originated; some claim that the term was adopted by early traders from sign language in which the sign for the tribe was often interpreted as "pressed side of head," or "pressed head," and thus "flat head."

Upper Kutenai people have said that there was once a group in the area who really did flatten heads; others have said that the name was given the Flathead by surrounding groups precisely because they did not deform their heads, as did most of the Salishan peoples to the west, but instead left the natural shape—flat on top. In any case, the Flathead apparently never artificially deformed their heads but the name, misnomer though it is, has stayed with them for generations—they call themselves "Salish."

At present the tribe lives on the Flathead Indian Reservation, a pleasant tract of land in the Jocko and Flathead Valleys and the Ca-

mas Prairie country of western Montana. About 2,500 people actually live on the reservation proper although over 4,000 Flathead, Kalispell, Kutenai, Coeur d'Alene and Pend d'Oreille people are listed on reservation rolls. Although contact with Western culture has resulted in the loss of many of the old Flathead ways, many instances of traditional behavior remain. And even where the overt behavior is lost or forgotten or impossible under the newer conditions, recollection of it is often retained through other means. One of these means is music, for while they cannot actually perform a scalp dance in celebration of a real raid upon an enemy tribe, they can still sing about it and recreate the traditional way of life.

Drum, Voice, and Bells

FLATHEAD music is not particularly complex structurally, nor are the musical instruments particularly varied or complicated. At present only the flageolet and the drum are used regularly. The former is end-blown, stopped with pine pitch or chewing gum, and made from a stick of elderberry wood which has been hollowed and in which seven holes have been burned or carved. Some instruments are made from metal, some are decorated, and a wide range of length, bore size and wood or metal thickness is employed. The flageolet was traditionally used for serenading girls in the evening and the songs played today are classed as love songs.

Two types of drums are at present in use among the Flathead; the large war drum and the small hand drum. The former is now often a European bass drum with the original heads replaced with deer hide; traditionally the same hide was stretched over a hollow log section. The hand drum is smaller and most commonly made from a circular cheese crate today, although formerly a thin band of native wood was steamed and bent. This frame is covered with deer hide on one side only, tied in place with buckskin thongs; on the headless side two thongs are crossed to provide a handhold for the user. The drumstick for both kinds of drums is fashioned from any available piece of wood although wild cherry is preferred.

James Teit, who studied the Flathead in the early part of this century, reported some other musical instruments in his work, *The Salishan Tribes of the Western Plateaus* (Forty-Fifth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, pp. 164-65; 368), and these included notched sticks or rasps which were rubbed with other sticks and which, he says, "were in common use." Rattles were made by enclosing pebbles in rawhide, or by attaching a bunch

deer hoofs to the end of a ooden handle, and whistles were ade from the wing and leg bones large birds such as geese, swans cranes. Today, sleigh bells take e place of the deer hoof rattles, nd the rasp and bone whistle are ldom seen.

The most important Flathead usical instrument is the voice. he good singer, say the Flathead, must be long-winded. He must be ble to sing together with other ngers. He must be able to sing ud. He must also have good help- s, two or three, to sing with m." Actually, the vocal quality nployed by Flathead singers chieves the penetrating quality hich is often labeled as the lenched-teeth" or "ventrilo- uistic" style and which is fairly pical of American Indian voice roduction in general. Flathead ngers sometimes perform alone, t group singing is preferred with leader and a chorus designated common consent and the known nging skill of those present. The nging is most often accompanied the drum, for the flageolet is ed exclusively as a solo instru- ent.

eker and Spirit

PERHAPS the most powerful personal experience undergone a Flathead in former times was e vision quest, an observance still acticed today but with less and less frequency. At the approach of the age of puberty, both boys and girls were expected to obtain a guardian spirit through the performance of a particular set of rituals which included bathing in cold running water, fasting, and praying. Most important, however, was the actual hoped-for meeting between the seeker and the spirit, alone and in the wilderness. A spot for this meeting was usually selected at some distance from the supplicant's home, and a spot famous for successful medicine dreams was chosen if possible. Upon arrival, the seeker commonly built a low wall of stone about himself and then remained at the spot, fasting and praying, until the expected meeting materialized. If not successful the first time, the young person was usually sent back again and again until some spirit attached itself to him.

H. H. Turney-High in his monograph, *The Flathead Indians of Montana* (Memoir 48 of the American Anthropological Association, p. 27) points out that most commonly the guardian spirit appeared to the individual in theriomorphic form, the rattlesnake and bear being the most usual. "Anthropomorphic guardians also occur . . . dwarfs . . . being especially powerful. Peripatetic decomposed corpses and skeletons are also encountered. A common guardian is the spirit of some ancestor,

or rarely of some famous person to whom the seeker is not related." Once contact has been established between the seeker and his guardian, the latter begins to impart information of several kinds. It teaches the seeker how to call upon him and it gives him some object, perhaps a piece of the animal represented, or even a piece of the guardian's bone which is made into a medicine bundle and kept by the owner throughout his life.

More important to the present discussion is the fact that the supplicant receives from his guardian a song or songs which he always remembers and which may be of considerable influence in determining his behavior. There is some disagreement as to exactly how the song is learned; Turney-High, for example, found that the guardian "teaches him at least one song, . . . and rehearses him until he can sing it," (p. 27) while my informants were quite positive that "such a song is sung but once by the guardian spirit but is always learned from the one hearing and is never forgotten." (Merriam, *Flathead Indian Music,* Montana State University, 1950. p. 13)

The Flathead say that songs are obtained from other tribes; individuals who make up songs; and from the vision quest. The first two are relatively unimportant to him. It is felt today that *all* songs previously came from the vision quest although it is recognized tha this situation no longer exists Thus, any song learned on the oc casion of the vision quest was nev material, although even here Tei remarks that "songs were occasion ally composed by the novice in se cret," and that "some songs wer merely modifications and new var iations of those already known t the people as a whole." (p. 384)

Teit has reported that "th themes [of the songs] were usuall suggested by something seen dur ing the vigils or while training. A song might begin with the words 'I saw a bear,' and so on. Some times songs expressed the desire or expectations of the person, an might begin with the words, 'Ma my friend the eagle come!' 'Ma such and such happen!' 'May see such and such a thing!' 'May do this or that!' "

Buffalo in the Ashes

THE powers obtained throug the vision quest could and di apply to almost any event in life thus special songs were obtained— at the guardian's discretion, c course, and sometimes not whil on the vision quest itself—for suc things as success in gambling, i general well-being, or in huntin particular kinds of animals. Thu one of my informants reported "When I was about six years old my father lost my horse in the stic game (a gambling game played b

e Flathead). The man who won e horse took it and led it away; ollowed, crying. I saw a woman ning toward me in a buckskin ess singing this song. She told e to turn back, that I would ve better horses. 'Don't cry over e horse.' " This song, which the dividual heard only the one ne, became her personal song. ow when she is herself playing e stick game she sings this song d, according to others, "then she ally wins!"

Perhaps more important in this spect were the songs which en- led individuals to cure. Those no had such powers—called *equiltc* in Salish, and *shaman* in nglish—were respected person- es in Flathead culture, specializ- g in curing although not usually pported by the society as full- ne specialists.

Flathead musical instruments al- played some part in practices of is kind, particularly the drums nich served as accompaniment to ng. Whistles and flageolets were metimes thought to have special fective powers in courtship and e instruments figure in some par- ormal phenomena among the athead. Thus the following story as told to the author: "Once a ng time ago my husband and I ended a war dance near where s cabin is right now. We were ming home and had just crossed e creek near where our cabin is now and we decided to camp there for the night. It was just dawn and as we lay down to sleep we heard a flageolet playing from a long way off. It came closer and closer, but when we got up to see who was playing, it went away again a long distance. This happened again. We did not know who it was and we never found out. . . . It must have been ghosts when we heard that song."

Music the Clue

MUSICAL instruments, as such, seldom seem to have any particular powers except where a specific instrument, usually a flageolet, has acquired significance from association with guardian spirit.

At least eighteen categories of song can be isolated in Flathead musical culture, and these include such diverse types as war songs, dance songs, game songs, gift songs, songs for parades, victory, ritualized begging, scouting and others.

Thus Flathead music is highly functional as well as integrated in culture, pervading almost all aspects of life. Finally, as has been noted, it is frequently through music that older culture elements are preserved. Thus the value of the study of music in Flathead society, as in the cultures of all peoples, lies in the fact that music provides a ready clue to the nature of man and his needs, cutting, as it does, across almost all aspects of life.

MASKED CLOWNS

Gertrude Kurath

IT is Easter Saturday morning. The Sonora adobe church resounds with flute wails and drum thuds and the stamp-shuffle of masqueraders. Clowns with long-nosed, long-eared, horned hide-masks circle around a black-shrouded phalanx. They halt to leap, wriggle their hips, and rattle their deer-hoof belts. With the left hand they click sticks against serpentine canes in the right. Three times they advance toward the shrouded altar and the bier with an image of Christ. Each time they come closer till they tear through the mesquite screen. The rush out into the hot, dust atrium and pile all masks but tw onto a pyre.

The clowns are *Chapayeka* "long, slender noses," of the Yaqu and Mayo Indians in Sonora an southern Arizona. The black-robe men are "soldiers of Rome." Sinc Ash Wednesday the clowns hav held sway in the village of Vica Pueblo, have policed the peopl and punished misconducts, hav guarded the image of Christ an begged alms for it. Yet they hav molested women, frightened chi

n, eaten filth, and parodied the emn ceremonies. They clown in fillment of a vow to overcome ness. At the climax of the semi-gan Passion Play they burn evil ng with their masks and a straw age of Judas.

This is the signal for the emer-nce of animal maskers, a deer, yotes, and three "old men of e fiesta," *Pascolas.* To drum, te and "voices of the woods" ey dance in the church and in leafy bower. The *Pascolas* clown a ritual of the religion of the ods, behind black masks skil-ly carved of wood, ornamented th white paint, bits of mirror, d a cross. A horsehair beard and f brow-ridge suggest an old man perhaps a goat. They are led as ough blind, and try to find their ns and legs. They invoke ani-ls and birds, then address the ctators.

Now the drums vibrate and a ched stick scritch-scratches me-anically; a one-man flute and or weave intricate rhythms. e leading *Pascola* dons his mask. leans forward and strikes a dwood rattle with copper disks inst the palm of his left hand. leers, jerks his shoulders, mps toe and heel, crouches, ps, utters the animal-like "Pas-a cry." The others follow suit. e deer begins to bound; in imi-on they hit their heads on the ing. He kneels forward as though to drink; they fall flat on their faces and arise with absurd postures. The deer ties them together with bandannas and they stand helplessly bleating. They refresh themselves with cigarettes and mescal hidden in a drum, and make Yaqui wise-cracks fit only for native ears. They continue at intervals all day and night, till the Sunday morning Gloria of the whole village.

Sanctioned Antics

THE Yaqui see nothing incongruous in these sanctioned antics, which have combined with Catholic rites taught by Jesuit missionaries. They are in company. From ocean to ocean clowns cavort in tribal rites. Following a vision or dream and an initiation, they can exert punitive, curative, and phallic powers. They make obscene jokes, speak in cries, reverse behavior, and dance grotesquely to discordant music.

The Southwest abounds in clowns with masks or behavior similar to the *Chapayekas,* as the *Chapeones* that conduct ritual dancers of the Tarahumara Indians across the mountains from the Yaqui. On the Arizona border the *Djidjur* and *Novico* cavort and cure during Papago ceremonies. The gray one, *Hlibahi,* parodies the serious masked dancers in the Apache girls' puberty rite. The Navaho water sprinkler,

Tonenile, relieves the austerity of the *Ye'i* dance.

The *Ye'i* like the *Kachina* rain priests of the Pueblo Indians, wear buckskin helmet masks in fantastic designs, sometimes with ear-flaps and gourd-neck snouts. They are rarely clowns. The Hopi, Zuñi, and New Mexico Pueblo clowns act much like the *Chapayekas;* they burlesque the *Kachinas* as well as the Catholic mass and white tourists. But they usually disguise with paint.

The *Koshare* and Zuñi *Koyemshi* represent the dead. But the *Koyemshi* snout-masks of hide are covered with sacred pink mud. As chanters they accompany Shalako Gods. They have curative and phallic potency. At any time they may remove the kilt from their penis. In their drum they carry a butterfuly that crazes people.

The Demanding Vision

OVER the wide expanse of the Great Plains clownish warrior societies are vowed to antinatural behavior and ritualized obscenity. They impersonate antinatural deities by means of horned, nosed buckskin masks, now usually of cloth. The Crow Indian clowns paint themselves with mud and smear their mask with charcoal. They ride the ugliest horses backwards. As they dance, they fall down and pretend to die laughing. One of them, dressed as a pregnant woman, simulates copulation with a male clown. The Plains-Ojibwa *Windigokan* and adjacent clown societies behave similarly.

The Dakota *Heyoka* Society used to paint their bodies but now they wear long-nosed cloth masks. In shaggy burlap they go begging. They may torment each other or the people. They undertake foolhardy war exploits. They dance with dew-claw rattles, crouching like dwarfs or stretching like giants. They plunge their hands into boiling water for meat and pretend it is cold.

These actions follow the demands of a vision. In *The Dakota Heyoka Cult* (Scientific Monthly April 1954) James H. Howard quotes a native's experience of illness and a command from the Thunder to dance clown. "I made myself a mask and a costume of gunny sack. If I hadn't done this sooner or later, I would have been hit by lightning."

Cure and Parody

IN Iroquois villages unearthly creatures march from house to house. Wry faces gleam red and black against the white snow. Their eyes stare. Long strands of coarse white hair blow in the wind. Rags, boots, levis, and burlap shawls over shoulder-humps, the False faces trudge behind an unmasked leader with a gun. They beg to

co and in return exorcise dis-

The maskers enter crawling, nbling, thumping staves and les on the floor. They scramble their feet to hop and gyrate h arms akimbo, while two chan- thunder turtle-shells against a ch and growl hypnotic songs the great good mask with the ling face. Not all of the masks smiling. Some are twisted as pain, with disjointed nose and uth or protruding tongue. They op hot ashes from a stove and ow them over the floor. They er towards patients seated on ches, rub ashes over their hair arms, carry them pickaback, thereby cure them and ini- e them into the Society.

Two tall maskers are leaning on es by the door, one with thick and spiny wrinkles, the other n spoon-lips for blowing ashes. ing two matrons, they spar n thumbs erect (a phallic ges- ?), and are imitated by other e-faces and women. Then the vns lead the spectators in the rkeepers' Round Dance, with thumping, in counterclockwise ction. Finally the False-faces t out into the cold and dark, rejoin the spirits of wind and ilence who have been placated the dancing, offerings of to- co and corn mush.

hese maskers sometimes regale community with less tradition- al antics, in the most easterly Iroquois settlement near Syracuse. On the seventh and eighth nights of the Midwinter Festival two companies clatter back and forth between the two Longhouses of the moieties. After tobacco collections and entries in traditional masks, a group in dime-store masks settles down for a series of parodies on the sacred rituals.

Comic Unreality

IN this irreverent drama we find echoes of clownery to the south, west, and north. The old man or grandfather cavorts ritually from the Iroquois Longhouse to the Seminole Everglades, from the plazas of the Pueblos and Yaqui all the way down to southern Mexico. His wooden mask may be black for a *Negrito* or pink for a *Viejito* (Little Old Man) of Michoacán. Or it may be of pasteboard or petate. The phallic male or transvestite capers in paint or hide in the Southwest and the Plains, more decorously in cornhusks east of Lake Huron. The hump-back recalls the False-faces and the Hopi *Kokopele Kachina.*

The natives relate these clowns to the spirit forces of the old religion, specifically to the tribal dead. The Yaqui maskers have learned the music and dance from the unbaptized ancestral spirits of the *monte,* the woods. The *Pascolas* enter as from another world

and must find their limbs. The *Chapayekas* remain befuddled and emerge into reality only when the masks are destroyed.

They are expected to put unreality to comic use. "A dancer's reputation depends as much on his ability to make the audience laugh as on his qualities as a dancer, and the audience is sharply critical of both," says Ralph L. Beals in *The Contemporary Culture of the Cahita Indians* (Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 142, Washington, 1945).

The Pueblo *Koshare* represent the ancestors, like the painted ghost-clowns of the Yuki and neighboring California tribes. They once used their poke for the emergence of mankind from the earth. Like the Iroquois maskers, they come from the sunrise direction, where the dead are reborn.

Yet they "first came to the Pueblo during a shiwanna dance, to amuse the people; they are clowns. . . . We are always going to have a good time when the koshare come," a San Felipe native told Leslie A. White in *The Pueblo of San Felipe* (Memoir 38, American Anthropological Association, 1932). And a Hopi told Elsie Clews Parsons about the Chöskötö clowns, "All the people are happy and laugh over these clowns." ("Hopi and Zuñi Ceremonialism," *Memoir 39, American Anthropological Assoc.*, 1933).

Death, the Buffoon

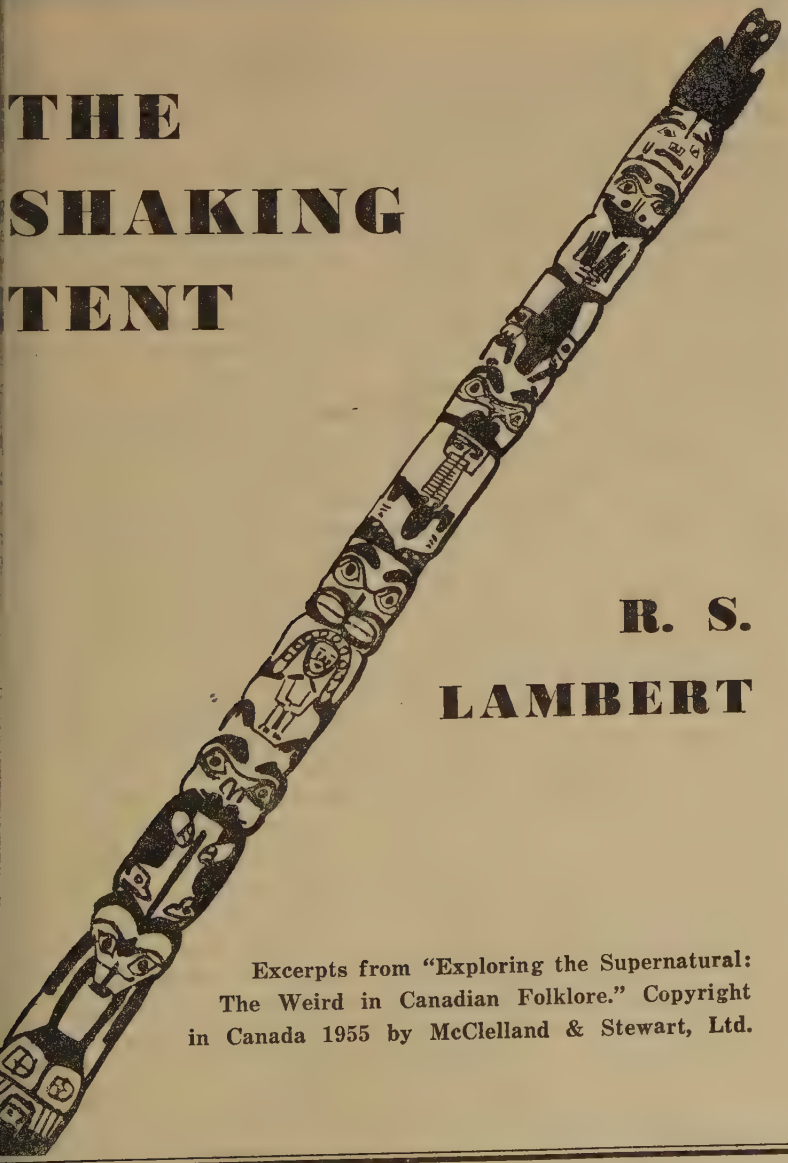
PRACTICALLY all masked clowns are related to the ancients by tribal mythology, nomenclature, oldster mask, aged clothing, or tottering mime. Furthermore, they share their most universal property, that of reversal with mortuary customs to such an extent as to suggest derivation.

As the dead reside also in clouds rain, storm, Pueblo clowns can extend their chhonic influence to crop growth and general fertility. Mask spirits of Eastern tribes have shifted from Underworld to storm. (Similarly, the European Harlequin descends from *maisnée Herlekin*, the Germanic wild horde of the dead that rode in storms).

Their comic techniques of inversion vary in different cultures, stressing daily actions or dance. Some devices are universally effective—exchange of sexes, impropriety, slovenly clothing, blackening, falling, crawling. But comic distortion of serious rituals, as *Kachina* or *Wasase*, presuppose intimacy with the patterns.

With countless tricks, old and new, the clowns have converted potentially gruesome or shocking actions to exhilarating comedy, gradually obscuring the mortuary symbolism. When *Pascola* doffs mask and supernatural identity, the ancient becomes just an entertainer.

THE SHAKING TENT



R. S. LAMBERT

Excerpts from "Exploring the Supernatural: The Weird in Canadian Folklore." Copyright in Canada 1955 by McClelland & Stewart, Ltd.

IN July, 1609, the French explorer, Samuel de Champlain, during his second visit to Quebec, joined the Huron, Algonquin and Montagnais Indians when they went on the warpath against their hereditary foe, the Iroquois. On the march he chided his allies for their unsoldierly habits and poor discipline even after they had entered enemy territory. Every night after supper, he noted in his diary, they all lay down to sleep around their campfires without posting any watch or sentry. They might easily have been scalped without ever knowing who had attacked them!

This carelessness was due to the Indians' blind faith in their *pilotois* or medicine men. Every night a *pilotois*—there was one to each camp—was called upon to foretell the future and give warning if any danger was at hand. At Sorel Rapids, Champlain watched for himself to see how this divination was conducted.

First the medicine man built a wigwam, or small tent, of pine-wood stakes covered with beaver-robes. Into this he entered naked, threw himself prone on the ground, and began "to mumble between his teeth certain words with which he declares he is invoking the devil, who appears to him in the form of a stone." Gradually, the *pilotois* worked himself up into a frenzy, then sprang to his feet, sweating and writhing and screa ing in a variety of voices. All t time the tent shook in a curi way.

According to bystanders, squ ting in a circle on their butto around the tent, this shaking v caused by the spirits with wh the *pilotois* communed. They a told Champlain that if he look closely he would see fire com out of the top of the tent. But old soldier denied that anyth occurred that could not be counted for by natural means. saw no lights; the voices were product of crude ventriloquis and the tent was shaken by *pilotois* himself. As for the me cine man's predictions, "th scoundrels do not speak two t words out of a hundred, but ceive these poor people to things from them." In short, Cha plain's reaction to the phenome was completely skeptical.

But this inquiry had been h and superficial. Those who c after Champlain, and looked m closely into the matter, were creasingly puzzled. In fact, found themselves facing a ri that defied solution. For over th centuries white men of all kin soldiers, missionaries, traders travelers—pried into the secre the Shaking Tent. Some scof or pronounced it a trick. Ot admitted themselves comple baffled. No one, however, whe

iptic or believer, could explain isfactorily how the phenomena re produced—the quakings and uddering of the stout poles and ir coverings; the weird lights t sparkled above the tent top; eerie wailing voices that seemed come from far and descend from sky in a rushing wind upon the dicine man within; and lastly, oracular forecasts of the future t he uttered in his trance.

st Psychical Researcher

ATHER Paul LeJeune, head of the Jesuit Mission to the ron Indians in the second arter of the seventeenth century, y be considered the first "psy- cal researcher" in Canada. He his colleagues carried through, der severe handicaps, a thor- gh inquisition into the occult ims of the Indian magicians of ebec and Huronia. And in their *lations,* they left to posterity a ies of reports written by mem- s of the order during the years 6 to 1672 for the Procurator Foreign Missions that compare orably with those of modern chic investigators.

LeJeune, born of Huguenot par- s at Chalons-sur-Marne in nce, became a Catholic at 22, ered the Society of Jesus, and ne out to Quebec in 1632, ere he remained for seven years king to convert the Indians.

On arriving at Quebec, Father LeJeune learned to speak Algonquin. He spent his second winter alone among the Montagnais Indians. From October 1634 to April 1635 he tramped the woods with them on snowshoes in search of game, crouching at night in their smoky, overcrowded wigwams and always having to put up with noise, bad food, danger of disease, and constant bickering and rudeness.

All this time he lost no opportunity to convert his companions. But he found that the chief obstacle to his efforts was the sorcerer or medicine man who manipulated the occult forces that the Indians feared so much. To overcome this, LeJeune made a special study of the medicine man and his methods, with the aim of exposing him as a charlatan.

The Jesuits were well equipped to make this sort of inquiry. They were well educated, trained in accurate observation and logical thinking. They did not study the phenomena merely as outsiders; they lived with the practitioners of magic, gained their confidence and became familiar with their background. This made them very acute critics. In principle, they believed in the supernatural—in miracles and visions—but not in the validity of anything manifested outside the Catholic Church. Like modern scientific investigators, they explained away all that they possibly could as the product of

fraud, jugglery and coincidence. But a small residue of phenomena remained that they could not rationalize. This the Jesuits attributed to the agency of the Devil. The modern scientist cannot use this explanation, but has not yet found a better.

In his *Relations* for 1634, Father LeJeune presented his first eye-witness account of an Indian sorcerer's séance. One of his converts, a young man named Manitou-Chat-Ché, had disappointed the Father by giving up his new-found faith after only a few months, and relapsing into devil-worship. Far from being ashamed of this, the "apostate" (as LeJeune then termed him) tried to justify his action by giving LeJeune a chance to witness at close quarters some of the feats of his medicine man.

"Towards nightfall, when I was resting," wrote LeJeune in his *Relations*, "two or three young men erected a tent in the middle of our cabin. They stuck six poles deep in the ground in the form of a circle. To hold them in place they fastened to the top of these poles a large ring, which completely encircled them. This done, they enclosed the edifice with blankets, leaving the top of the tent open. It is all that a tall man can do to reach to the top of this round tower, capable of holding five or six men standing upright."

When the tent had been erected, continued LeJeune, "the fires
the cabin were entirely extinguish
ed, and the brands thrown outsid
lest the flames frighten away th
'spirits' or *khichi gouai* who a
to enter this tent. A young juggl
slipped in from below, turnin
back for this purpose the coverin
which enveloped it; then replace
it when he had entered—for th
must be very careful that there
no opening in this fine palace e
cept from above. The juggl
having entered, began to mo
softly, as if complaining. He sho
the tent, first without violen
Then, becoming animated little
little, he commenced to whistle
a hollow tone, and as if it ca
from afar; then to talk as if in
bottle; to cry like the owls of th
countries; then to howl and si
constantly varying the tones
disguising his voice so that
seemed to me I heard those p
pets which showmen exhibit
France. At first he shook this e
fice gently; but as he continued
become more animated, he
into so violent an ecstasy tha
thought he would break everyth
to pieces. . . . I was astonished
a man having so much streng
for after he had once begun
shake it, he did not stop it u
the consultation was over, wh
lasted about three hours."

Whenever the medicine m
changed his voice, his audie
responded by cries intended to

rage the spirits to enter the t. Meanwhile, the good Father asionally threw out sarcastic re-rks to show his skepticism.

But Manitou-Chat-Ché had his lies ready. "Be quiet, Black be! The soul of our medicine n has now left his body, and risen up to the top of the wig-m. It is hovering there, to meet spirits."

The voice of the medicine man w stronger, his chant louder.

Suddenly the savages uttered a of joy, and began pointing to top of the tent. LeJeune looked and saw fiery sparks issuing m the vent-hole.

"You see," cried Manitou-Chat-é, "one of the khichi gouai has ived!" And all the Indians led encouragingly to the medi-e man: "Tepouaćhi! (Call the ers!) Tepouachi!"

The medicine man responded in hoarse strident voice quite dif-ent from his earlier tone. One his assistants outside began to t a drum. Several of the young-Indians stood up and danced citedly around the tent.

The appearance of the fiery rks was a signal that the spir-were arriving; now the medi-e man could begin to consult m. His first query was about own and his squaw's health. was told that he himself would vive the winter, but that his aw would die.

LeJeune waxed sarcastic again. "I could have said as much myself. Your poor wife looks half dead already! As for you, you look perfectly healthy and have a hearty appetite. I don't doubt, unless you have an accident, you will not only survive this winter, but next summer as well!"

The oracle was next asked about the weather—would there be much or little snow during the next few months? Would game—that is, elk and moose—be plentiful or scarce this season? The spirits replied that they could see little snow and some elk and moose, but these were at a considerable distance.

"As I expected," commented LeJeune, "the spirits were too prudent to state exactly *where* the moose would be found."

Killing by Suggestion

ON February 16, 1635, the Jesuit Father was permitted to take part in a ceremony of "operative witchcraft." The local sorcerer had heard that he was being threatened with death within two days by a rival practitioner, who lived in the Gaspé, more than a hundred leagues away. Not unnaturally, he determined to act first, and put his rival out of the way, by "absent treatment."

All the women and children were sent away except one woman, who was kept to serve as a kind of

medium. A charm was prepared, compounded of pieces of wood forked like a snake's tongue, iron arrow tips, fragments of broken knives, iron bent into rough hooks, etc.—all wrapped in a piece of leather. Then the sorcerer began to beat his drum, which, says LeJeune, was "the size of a tambourine, and composed of a circle three or four fingers' length in diameter, and of two skins stretched tightly over it on both sides; they put inside some little pebbles or stones, in order to make more noise."

Shaking his drum and shouting and screaming, the sorcerer raised a suitable uproar. Then—pointing to a place on the ground, and crying out "Here is his head!"—with all his might he drove into the earth two sharply pointed sticks, which he inclined at an angle pointing towards the place where his rival was supposed to be.

Next a deep ditch was dug alongside the sticks, and the sorcerer descended into it armed with a sword, and began a fierce fight with an invisible enemy. After this, he took the charm, buried it in the ditch, renewed his fight, and finally emerged triumphant, with his sword covered with blood. The ditch was then hurriedly filled up.

Now came an eerie moment. The sorcerer asked his audience whether they had heard the cries of his victim. "No, no," they all replied—all except two, who were distant relatives of the rival so cerer. These alleged that they ha heard in the dark woods du sounds of crying and groaning, if proceeding from someone pain at a great distance.

LeJeune was more affected this mummery than he cared admit. It reminded him of som thing with which every seve teenth-century European was pai fully familiar—the Satanism d nounced in the Bull of Pope I nocent VIII, and in the treati *Malleus Maleficarum*. These I dians were devil-worshippers, or without having entered into a fo mal pact with the Devil. "N that the Devil communicates wi them (the sorcerers)," says L Jeune, "as obviously as he do with the sorcerers and magicia of Europe; but we have no oth name to give them, since they ev do some of the acts of the genui sorcerers—as, to kill one anoth by charms or wishes or impre tions, or by poisons which th concoct."

LeJeune paid considerable tention to the Indians' metho of healing the sick, which in so cases bore a distinct resembla to modern psychoanalysis. Nea twenty years before LeJeune's rival in Quebec, the Jesuits Acadia had learned that the dians believed one of the m sources of disease "is the mind the patient himself, which des

nething, and will vex the body
the sick man until it possesses
thing required. For they think
at there are in every man cer-
n inborn desires, often unknown
themselves, upon which the
ppiness of individuals depends.
For the purpose of ascertaining the desires and innate appetites of this character they summon soothsayers, who, as they think, have a divinely imparted power to look into the inmost recesses of the mind."

"TO MAKE THEMSELVES FEARED . . ."

HE considered opinion of the Jesuit Father on the validity of e sorcerers' claims is worth quot-g. Father LeJeune, in his *Re-ion* of 1637, concludes that "in probability the Devil communi-tes visibly with those poor sav-es, who need help badly, both mporal and spiritual, to bring em up out of the slavery which presses them." However, two ars later, he qualifies this con-usion somewhat. "I am persuaded at in fact there are a few among em who have communication th Demons; but the majority e only impostors, exercising their cks to extract presents from the k poor, to make themselves pular, or to make themselves ared."

Father Brébeuf, in 1636, was ther more positive in crediting e sorcerers with power to com-and the elements, foretell the ture, recover lost property, and al the sick. "That they have se gifts of God, no one in my inion will venture to assert. But that all they do is the product of deception or imagination hardly accords either with the reputation they have acquired, or with the length of time they have practiced their profession. How comes it that their tricks have never been exposed through all these years, and that their trade has been so well rewarded—if they have never succeeded except through sheer imagination? There is therefore some ground for thinking that the Devil does sometimes lend them a helping hand, revealing himself to them for some temporal profit, as well as for their eternal damnation."

Divination by Oscillation

FOR our next detailed description of the Tent we must turn to the trader Alexander Henry the Elder, in his *Travels and Adventures in the Years 1760-1776*. The French had recently lost Canada to the British; but the Indians, under their great leader Pontiac, had broken out in rebellion against

the conquerors. Henry found himself isolated at Sault-Ste.-Marie, and virtually a prisoner of the Ojibway. In 1764 a chance of escape opened up. One day a canoe arrived, with messengers from Sir William Johnson, the Chief Indian Agent of the British in North America, inviting the Ojibways to send a deputation to feast with him at Fort Niagara on Lake Ontario, and conclude a treaty of peace with the English. Henry naturally urged the Indians to accept this offer, so that he could go along with the deputation, as one step towards reaching Montreal. But the Ojibways could not make up their minds.

"Brother," said their Chief to Henry, "we do not know whether this invitation is a trap or not. We shall let Mikinak the Great Turtle decide for us."

"The Great Turtle?"

"Yes, our master-spirit. We shall build him a house, and our medicine man will invite him to come into it and tell us the truth about the British."

Henry asked to be allowed to be present at the ceremony.

Next day, the Ojibway braves built an extra large wigwam, and inside it a smaller tent made of moose-skins hung over a framework of wood. The frame consisted of five poles, of five different kinds of lumber. Each pole was about ten feet long and eight inches in diameter. The diameter of the te was four feet, and the poles we set two feet deep in the eart They were tied together at t top with a hoop or girder. T moose-skin covering was fasten tightly to the poles with thongs hide, but a loose flap was left one side, to admit the medici man.

The ceremony began aft nightfall. The medicine man a peared nearly naked, and cre under the skins into the tent. "H head was scarcely inside when t edifice, massy as it has been d scribed, began to shake; and t skins were no sooner let fall th the sounds of numerous voi were heard, and beneath the some yelling, some barking l dogs, some howling like wolv and in this horrible concert w mingled screams and sobs, as despair, anguish and the sharp pain. Articulate speech was a uttered, as if from human lips, in a tongue unknown to any the audience."

These noises were followed dead silence, which was brok by what Henry calls "a low a feeble voice, resembling the of a young puppy." At this Indians clapped their hands joy, declaring that it was the vo of Mikinak the Great Turtle. previously heard sounds were voices of evil spirits.

Next came a series of w

chants, after which the medicine man used his own voice.

"The Great Turtle is present. He is willing to answer questions."

The Chief of the tribe then came forward, and made an offering of tobacco to Mikinak, asking him to act as mediator with the good spirits, on behalf of all the Indians present. Then the Chief addressed the medicine man.

"Will the Great Turtle tell us—are the English preparing to make war on the Ojibways? Are there many English redcoats at Fort Niagara?"

At this question, says Henry, "the Tent instantly shook, and for some seconds after, it continued to rock so violently that I expected to see it leveled with the ground." Then followed a piercing cry, and silence for a quarter of an hour, during which time Mikinak was supposed to have crossed Lake Huron and visted first Fort Niagara, then the City of Montreal. At last the medicine man was ready to give his report.

"At Fort Niagara the Great Turtle has seen no great number of redcoats. But on going down the St. Lawrence to Montreal, he has found the river there covered with boats, and the boats filled with redcoats with guns, in number like the leaves of the trees. He has seen them on their way upstream, coming to make war upon the Indians."

The audience received this unwelcome news with uneasiness which changed to relief when the next question was answered.

"If the Ojibways go to visit Sir William Johnson, will he receive us as friends?"

"Yes," replied the medicine man, "Mikinak says that Johnson will fill your canoes with presents and quantities of rum. Every man will return home safely to his family."

This information drew loud applause. Public business being completed, it was the turn of individuals to query the oracle about their personal affairs—especially about absent friends and sick relatives. The replies, commented Henry, "allowed of much latitude of explanation."

Henry's own curiosity was piqued. He offered tobacco and asked a pointed question.

"O Great Turtle, shall I soon revisit my own country?"

The wigwam vibrated strongly, and then came the answer.

"Take courage, white man, no harm will come to you. In the end you will reach your friends and return in safety to your own country."

The conjuration went on till nearly midnight. "I was on the watch through the scene I have described," concludes Henry, "to detect the particular contrivances by which the fraud was carried on. But such was the skill dis-

played in the performance or such my deficiency of penetration, that I made no discoveries, but came away as I went, with no more than those general surmises which will naturally be entertained by every reader."

By the early years of the nineteenth century the spread of Christianity and the degeneration of the Indian tribes affected by European civilization had caused the virtual disappearance of Indian occult practices from Eastern Canada. The Shaking Tent was now only to be found in the territories of the Hudson's Bay Company; and those who were curious to see it had to journey west.

One of these curious travelers was the young artist Paul Kane, who in 1846 obtained permission from Sir George Simpson, the governor of the Hudson's Bay Company, to accompany the Spring Fur Brigade and travel through Western Canada making a pictorial record of the Indians and their ways. Naturally, Kane tried to see some Indian sorcery.

FAIR WIND FOR THE JOURNEY

ON his way home in 1848, he had the good luck to witness the Tent in full operation. The travelers had stopped for the night at Dog's Head on the Behring River, near Winnipeg. After dark their Indian guides and paddlemen constructed a medicine lodge, to procure a fair wind for next day's journey. As usual, the Tent was made of ten or twelve stout poles driven into the ground and enclosing a circular area of about three feet in diameter. These poles were encased in a large boat sail, with an opening at the top. The medicine man then entered, caused the tent to shake violently, agitated his rattle, and sang his incantations in a hoarse voice.

Meanwhile, writes Kane, "being unable to sleep on account of the discordant noises, I wrapped a blanket around me and went out into the woods, where they were holding their midnight orgies, and lay down among those on the outside of the medicine lodge, to witness the proceedings. I had no sooner done so than the incantations at once ceased, and the performer exclaimed that a white man was present. How he ascertained this fact I am at a loss to surmise, as it was pitch dark at the time, and he was enclosed in a narrow tent, without any apparent opening through which he could espy me, even had it been light enough to distinguish one person from another. . . .

"After about two hours' shak-

ing and singing, the medicine man cried out that he saw five boats with the sails set running before the wind; which communication was greeted by the whole party with their usual grunt of satisfaction and assent. After this, many questions were asked him by the Indians, some inquiring after the health of their families at home, whom they had not seen for many months. Upon putting the question, the inquirer threw a small piece of tobacco over the covering of the tent, upon which the medicine man agitated the tent, and shook his rattle violently, and then replied that he saw one family enjoying themselves over a fat sturgeon, another engaged in some pleasing employment, etc., etc. I then put a question to him myself, accompanying it with a double portion of tobacco, for which I got a double portion of noise. I asked about my curiosities which I had left at Norway House (for want of room in our boats), to be brought on by the canoes which had taken up Sir John Richardson on their return. The medicine man told me that he saw the party with my baggage encamped on a sandy point, which we ourselves had passed only about two days before.

"However singular the coincidence may appear, it is a fact that, on the next day we had a fair wind, for which the medicine man of course took all the credit; and it is no less true, that the canoes with my baggage were on the sandy point on the day stated —for I inquired particularly of them when they came up to us."

"THE BEAR SPIRIT ARRIVED . . ."

BY the beginning of the twentieth century, the Shaking Tent had become so great a rarity that it had passed almost into the domain of legend.

However, it still survived in the wilder parts of the west and northwest. In July, 1929, it was witnessed and recorded at White Sands, in the Mackenzie River Basin, N.W.T. A young official of the Hudson's Bay Company trading post at Nipigon House, Mr. A. K. Black, (now living at Fort Chipewyan), had the good luck to encounter a famous medicine man among the Indians who had come together to receive the payment due to them under a past treaty with the Company. Black persuaded this Indian, whose name was August, to show his tricks before the gathering (which included several white men), and afterwards contributed an account of the affair to the Company's magazine, *The Beaver*.

"Before dusk," he tells us, "two

Indian lads went to the bush to get the necessary willow poles, which were driven fast into the ground and fastened with two willow hoops, one in the center, the other tapering the poles at the top. The poles were tested by nearly all present, and were found immovable. A can of shot was tied to the top of the poles, and the birch bark was then fastened on the outside to complete the construction.

"As it darkened and the moon came up, the Indians squatted in a circle around the wigwam at a distance of four or six feet from it. A small opening was made in the West for the Indian to crawl in, and closed immediately on his entrance. The wigwam commenced to shake as soon as the Indian disappeared, and the can of shot began to rattle. The Indians were awe-stricken while the medicine man commenced an eerie type of song. This lasted nearly half an hour; and he then commenced to talk, telling them in their native tongue that he had got in touch with the spirits and expected them at any time, although they were having a little difficulty to reach him. All the time the wigwam continued to shake.

"A small disturbance took place, and a strange voice was heard. The medicine man's voice could be heard at the base of the wigwam, while the strange voice came from the top. The voices were decidedly different. After having conversed with the strange voice for some time, August told the silent watchers that he could answer any of their questions, but they had first to place a plug of chewing tobacco under the teepee. He was soon showered with questions, many of them being of the type, 'How many fish will I gather in the morning?' and 'What luck will I have in trapping this year?'

"When the native questions became fewer, August said he would be glad to answer any question asked by the white onlookers. At the suggestion of the others, I asked: 'May we hold the wigwam while it is shaking?' A rapid talk by August commenced in the wigwam. I could feel an unpleasantness among the Indians about me. Although I do not understand their language, I sensed something was wrong, and I was told that August had said that if the white people interefered with the motion of the wigwam, he would make such a big wind it would blow people and houses into the lake. One Indian, in a fit of excitement, called upon his people to 'Clean it up' on the whites. I, having asked the question, immediately told the Indians that we did not wish to interfere if trouble might result. This passed over, and although the wigwam had not once stopped shaking, the medicine man

decided to show more of his powers. He said he was going to call the spirit of a bear into the wigwam and show how he could kill it with his hands.

"When the bear spirit arrived in the wigwam, great excitement arose among the Indian onlookers. The fight began, and this was where I received my great surprise. The Indians seated around yelled to August 'An-huck!' ('Get stronger!'). The top of the wigwam bent until it nearly touched the ground during the fight. An Indian turned to me saying, 'Now do you believe it?' Naturally I answered 'Yes,' there being about 500 believers there! Eventually, the bear spirit was killed, and August repeated the feat with the spirit of a lynx, which brought yells of excitement from the gathering.

"Daylight was breaking when August emerged from the wigwam with beads of perspiration covering his face. The bark was immediately removed from the wigwam, and we examined the poles and were surprised to find them as solid as they had been at first. I have been informed, although I have not witnessed it, that August can make a teepee shake by merely throwing his hat into it."

Since this 1929 ceremony, two or three more first-hand accounts of the Tent have been published—by Professor Irving Hallowell, of Pennsylvania University—of a ceremony at Berens River, Lake Winnipeg in 1930; by Allan Nelson of one at Little Grand Rapids, Manioba, in 1936; by Sister B. Coleman of one at Cass Lake, Minnesota in 1937; and by Regina Flannery of one among the Montagnais of James Bay in 1939. Probably therefore there are still to be found a few medicine men, skilled in the old traditions, who can produce the phenomena witnessed and minutely described by over a score of white men since the days of Champlain.

Assessing the Phenomena

SURVEYING this three hundred and twenty year record, we notice the singular consistency that runs through all the eyewitness stories. Certain phenomena are manifested, not always the same, but in variants, and not always together, but more or less complete. They are:

1. *The Shaking of the Tent.* A range of movement from mere quivering, to rocking to and fro "until the tent-top almost touches the ground." As a rule, the medicine man must be inside the Tent to cause this shaking, but in some accounts he is seen lying on the ground with his limbs extended and even protruding under a flap of the Tent.

(2) *The Medicine Man in Bonds.* In many cases he causes

the phenomena only after having been securely tied hand and foot by his associates.

(3) *The Incantation.* The medicine man usually employs a rattle and drum as accompaniments to lengthy chanting and howling, in preparation for going into a trance. During the first stages of this trance condition, different voices —both human and bestial—can be distinguished. These voices seem to come from different parts of the Tent, high and low.

(4) *The Fiery Sparks.* In some accounts, but not all, fiery discharges are noticed above the open top of the Tent. These sparks are a prelude to the divinatory culmination of the trance-period. The Indians believe that they are the spirits.

(5) *The Divination.* The medicine man, announcing either that the "spirits" have arrived, or that he is going off (or sending someone off) to consult them, afterwards declares himself ready to answer questions from his audience. Sometimes he uses an imaginary spirit-interpreter (Mikinak) for this purpose. Usually these questions are of a trivial but practical character, relating to weather, hunting or fishing conditions, health and sickness of friends and relatives, and outcome of journeys.

(6) *Healing.* The Tent can be used for healing the sick, as well as for divining the future. The form of treatment is by hypnotism or suggestion.

FRAUD, MIRACLE OR ILLUSION?

THE physical shaking of the Tent must be set down either to fraud or to hallucination, or admitted to be a genuine "miracle." If it is fraudulent it is a pity no one has exposed the precise method of doing the trick. If it is due to hallucination, we must suppose that the medicine man, by some power of suggestion, hypnotizes his audience into *thinking* that they see the Tent shake and dance.

But collective hallucination of this sort is not easy to accept. Sir William Crookes has pointed out that "the supposition that there is a sort of mania or delirium that suddenly attacks a whole roomful of intelligent persons who are quite sane elsewhere, and who all concur, to the minutest particulars, in the detail of the occurrences of which they suppose themselves to be witnesses, seems to my mind more incredible than even the facts which they attest."

There is another point of view —that of the anthropologist—from which the phenomenon of the Shaking Tent can be analyzed.

Professor Hallowell, himself an eyewitness of these phenomena, holds that they cannot be explained either in terms of deliberate imposture, or of the exercise of supernormal powers. The medicine man's performance can only be understood in the light of the beliefs and behavior-pattern of his own people.

"As individuals," says Professor Hallowell in his monograph, *The Role of Conjuring in Salteaux Society*, (Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, 1942) "these conjurers had played a role that was set by their culture. And they had played it successfully. Not only had they dreamed the appropriate dreams that validated their role in their own eyes. We must assume that they unconsciously invested the act of conjuring with an emotional aura which was experienced as if some objective forces were involved. Such an emotional vortex is not an unfamiliar psychological phenomenon, and while it may verge towards the abnormal in certain types of personality, individuals with creative artistic gifts are well acquainted with it. In Western culture, in fact, we still have a tradition that a poet or musician becomes 'inspired.' To play a role successfully that is thoroughly validated by the ideology and values of any human society is only to act a part in a sense that we all act a part. The successful conjuror thoroughly identifies himself with his role. The approved means are part of the total situation and inseparable from it. When, as outsiders, we raise questions about insincerity and fraud, therefore, it simply indicates that we find it impossible to penetrate and understand the behavioral world in which these Indians lived."

To sum up, "unless *we* believe in the possibility of supernatural forces ourselves, it must be assumed that the Salteaux conjuror must integrate the material means employed in manipulating the lodge with his personal inspiration and beliefs."

So the medicine man *does* shake the Tent by his own physical means, though he genuinely believes it is done for him by the spirits. Yet the mechanics of the shaking remain obscure. Professor Hallowell has pointed out that, among the Salteaux, the Tent is erected in the shape of a barrel, the feet of the poles being planted in the ground, not perpendicularly, but inclined downwards towards the centre at a slight angle. When the tops of the poles have been fastened together with hoops, and the sides draped with skins, the whole edifice looks like a rough cylinder with a blunt cone-shaped top. Hallowell thinks that this barrel shape would make it easier for anyone inside the Tent to manipulate and agitate the whole frame.

However, the operation still requires uncanny knack and almost incredible skill and vigor. Good performances last for several hours at a time, during which the Tent is scarcely ever still. At the same time, the medicine man must sing and talk continuously in several different voices. He must memorize his songs, have power of dramatic representation (e.g. of fights with animal-spirits), prognosticate the future, answer questions, and carry on a smart repartee with his audience. There can be no question, therefore, but that his *skill* is supernormal, even if his *powers* are not.

INFLUENCE ON SPIRITUALISM

KOHL was the first observer to notice the striking similarity between the technique and apparatus of the Indian sorcerer, and that of the early nineteenth century spiritualist medium. The medium's "cabinet" parallels the "medicine man's tent"; he uses the drum and tambourine, accompanied by hymns and chants, to induce ecstasy; his trembling and shaking is one of the symptoms which precedes going into a trance.

We can even trace roughly the steps by which white practitioners acquired their technique from the Indian occultists during their decline. The first spiritualists were the Shaker communities who believed that they received visitations from the spirits of neighboring dead Indians collectively, as a tribe.

From the Shakers the technique was passed on about 1850 to the Davenport Brothers, the first professional spirit mediums, (who, incidentally, introduced the trick of escaping from bonds inside the medium's cabinet—obviously a borrowing from the repertoire of the Ojibway conjurors).

After the Davenports' time, various Indians figured regularly as "controls" in the trances of many famous mediums, usually under romantic names. Examples are "North Star" (used by Mrs. Osborne Leonard, the celebrated British trance medium); "Red Cloud" (the American materializing medium Mrs. Etta Roberts); and a score of others.

The inquiries begun by Father LeJeune, when he undertook the task of exposing the Indian sorcerers and their claims, have produced strange fruit. The long trail leads us direct from the sorcerer's Tent in 1609, to the "cabinet" or darkened séance room of thousands of modern mediums who have taken over the secrets of the humble medicine man.

mbolism, little understood or noticed today, is yet uniquely used by odern sensitives, as will be recognized by those who have studied airvoyant attributes. A significant expression of Indian beliefs and derstanding is the fact that they still periodically go into a retreat r he express purpose of communing with their forefathers.

The Indian is often considered solitary, reserved, and unresponsive, e antithesis of many primitive people. He is not without humor but lds it in check to become manifest only in intimacy. He is a tough iend in adversity, even though he is not gifted in the enterprise that arks his western brother. He prizes self-control as a great virtue, while straint and decorum are the essentials of manners. He has a great sense f self-respect, as well as respect for the personality of others. Therefore, know the spirit of the Indian and his world is to know something that aches far beyond the Christian age, beyond all the divisions, back to he age of speculation and wonder. There is a quiet splendor in his tran-uility, beauty in his music and song, dignity in his bearing; idealism nd ideality, which bespeak the inner life, are profound within his ocial and spiritual development.

WE should be grateful that we still have access to this way of life. Indian conceptions of being and reality offer practical lessons still o be learned; for there, surely, is a way of life than can be regarded as etaphysical. I believe a deeper meaning of the Indian's symbols, myths nd rites, which helped him protect and conserve his soil, waters, forests nd animals, and the web of life which sustained them, had within it eauty, wisdom and inner knowledge of a very special order.

What the Indian expressed of the true meaning of life is something at is sadly needed today. He passed into his inner spiritual world with willed discipline which may be already thousands of years old. The hole community entered into the subjective drama of experience and became a fact. Here were priests, poets, poor and rich alike, who ached the mainspring of life with exaltation and belief—for they truly o still believe that man is a co-partner in a living universe where he and ature are necessary to, and dependent upon, each other.

This respect for self and society within a just and benign world gives creative freedom—a formula for man's collaboration with creation. uch freedom can defend man from the terror of destruction which story imposes, and can become the very essence of cosmic survival.

EILEEN J. GARRETT

APR 19 1956

SEE LARGEST SELECTIONS OF METAPHYSICAL BOOKS AT SAMUEL WEISER'S BOOKSTORE

Order your copy of THE SEARCH FOR BRIDEY MURPHY at $3.75 postpaid. Also at Samuel Weiser's, the 12" LP record of actual Bridey Murphy sessions. $4.75 postage extra.

Featured selections in hypnosis

HYPNOTIC SUGGESTIONS

DR. AUGUST FOREL'S classic study of the psychological and therapeutic aspects of hypnotism. *$3.50 postpaid*

ADVANCED TECHNIQUES OF HYPNOSIS

MELVIN POWERS, professional hypnotist, reveals the new procedures for inducing deep and self hypnosis. *$1.00 postpaid*

HYPNOTISM AND THE POWER WITHIN

DR. S. J. VAN PELT, President of the British Society of Medical Hypnotists, proves that habit and disease can be cured through hypnosis. *$3.90 postpaid*

Special values in Occult Books

IN THE DAWN BEYOND DEATH

REV. C. DRAYTON THOMAS presents his case histories of survival. *$1.00 postpaid*

OCCULTISM: Its Theory and Practice. Sirdar Ikbal Ali Shah's research in Oriental Magic. *$2.65 postpaid*

Send for your copies today

samuel weiser Inc.

117 Fourth Avenue
(at 12th St.) NYC 3
GRamercy 7-8453

FREE CATALOGUE

Write or phone TODAY for our latest listing of over 1,000 new book bargains!